

Community Control of Schools *Joseph Featherstone*

RITTER LIBRARY
BARD COLLEGE
COLLEGE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — March 29, 1969, 40 cents

Nixon's ABM

Robert Rothstein — **Very Thin Indeed**
TRB — Keep Your Shirt On

Alex Campbell from Thailand
John Osborne Looks at Congress

BOOKS: Stanley Kauffmann on an Oddity,
Kenneth Boulding on Herbert Marcuse,
Lore Segal on "Nog," Stanley Moss
on the Poetry of James Wright

NEWSPAPER

74017

NR BDM2BLDME069 1 0369
OR EDWIN A BROWN
LIBRARY
BROWN WALLACE COL
BEREA OHIO

MARBORO SPRING CLEARANCE OF RECORDS

Save up to 82% on
great performances by
Bjoerling • Traubel •
Segovia • Tebaldi •
Schwarzkopf • Szell •
Callas • Sutherland •
Bream • Casals •
Piaf • many others

ORIG. \$5.79 NOW AS
LOW AS \$1.00
ORIG. \$23.95 (5-RECORD SET)
NOW \$4.98
ORIG. \$49.50 (10-RECORD SET)
NOW \$5.95
MAIL COUPON NOW

R2348. Mozart: MARRIAGE OF FIGARO. Superb performance of this comic classic with Italo Tajo, Gabriella Gatti, Fernando Corena, Graziella Sciutti, Sesto Bruscantini; Turin Radio Italiana Orch, Fernando Previtali cond. Rechanneled for Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.94

R2300. WOODY GUTHRIE. America's most beloved balladeer in 12 songs: Pretty Boy Floyd, John Henry, Hard Ain't It Hard, Hey Lolly Lolly, More Pretty Girls Than One, more. Rechanneled for Stereo. Only 1.98

R2291. Borodin: SYMPHONY NO. 2, "IN THE STEPPES OF CENTRAL ASIA." Powerful statements of the "Paladin" symphony and the familiar, beautiful "Steppes" tone picture; Philharmonia Hungarica, Othmar Maga cond. Dolby & Stereo. Only 1.98

R2224. THE WORLD'S GREATEST MUSIC, Vol. 1: 10 Disc Set. 16 complete works with the renowned artists: Oistrakh, Richter, Gilels, Scherchen, Anserl, more; incl. Beethoven's Eroica Symphony, Emperor Cto; Mozart's "Elvira Madigan" Piano Cto #21, Violin Cto #3; Tchaikovsky's Pathetique Symphony, Piano Cto #1, 1812 Overture; Rachmaninoff's Piano Cto #2; much more. Mono. Made to sell at \$49.50. 10 Discs, Special Package 5.95

R2012. THE GREAT ENRICO CARUSO. 10 of opera's most severely taxing arias: Celeste Aida, Questa o Quella, La Donne E Mobile, Una Furva Lagrima, O Paradiso, M'Appari, Cielo E Mar, more. Rechanneled for Stereo. Pub. at \$5.79. Special 1.98

R1853. Mozart: THE COMPLETE WIND CONCERTI. 10 works: Clarinet Concerto K.622; Bassoon Concerto K.191; The 4 French Horn Concerti; The 2 Flute Concerti K.313/314; Flute and Harp Concerto K.299; and Sinfonia Concertante K.297b for Oboe, Horn, Clarinet, Bassoon & Orch; soloists; Westphalia, Wurttemberg Chamber & Vienna Volkssoper Orchestras; Reichert, Faerber & Bauer-Theussl cond. Stereo. 4 Record Set Complete, Only 6.98

R963. J. S. Bach: SONATAS FOR VIOLIN & HARPSICHORD (COMPLETE) BWV. 1014-1019. 6 superb sonatas for violin with 2-part hpchd obbligato, and in which 3-part simultaneous fugal movements abound; Hansheinz Schneebberger (violin) & Eduard Muller (hpchd). Stereo. 2 Records, Only 4.98

R942. Brahms: PIANO TRIOS (Complete). The three Trios for piano, violin & cello, Opus 8, 87 and 101 PLUS the first recording of the Trio in A Major, Opus Posth; the Beaux Arts Trio. Stereo. 2 Records, Only 3.88

R941. Grand Prix Du Disque: DEBUSSY'S COMPLETE SOLO PIANO MUSIC. Over 50 works: the complete Images, Children's Corner, Etudes, Preludes, Suite Bergamasque, Estampes, Arabesques, Hommage a Haydn, Berceuse Heroique, more; performed by the renowned Debussy interpreter, Werner Haas. Stereo. 5 Record Set, Only 9.88

R399. Tchaikovsky: EUGEN ONEGIN—1st Stereo Recording. The ravishing melodies of Tchaikovsky in a superb, authentic performance by Popovich, Heybalova, Cvejic, Startz; Belgrade Opera, Danon cond. Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.94

R149. Mozart: THE PIANO QUARTETS. The 2 Piano Quartets with George Szell, piano & members of The Budapest String Quartet; "Conductor Szell is a first-rate Mozart player . . . This is tops in Mozart." Saturday Review. Mono. Only 2.49

R2346. Tebaldi in ANDREA CHENIER. Giordano's passionate masterpiece with Renata Tebaldi in magnificent voice, and Jose Soler, Ugo Savarese, Irma Colasanti; Turin Radio Italiana Orch. Arturo Basile cond. 2 Discs, Only 3.96

R2306. PIANO MUSIC OF ERIK SATIE. Jacques Fevrier, piano, Georges Auric & Jacques Fevrier, piano, four hands: Iere Gnosstienne, Avant-Dernieres Pensees, Iere Sarabande, Pieces Froides, Croquis Et Agaceries D'un Gros Bonhomme En Bois, Iere Gymnopedie, more. Stereo. Only 1.98

R2259. Mahler: SYMPHONY NO. 2 "RESURRECTION." Ilona Steingruber & Hilde Ross-Majdan, soloists, Akademie Kammerchor & Singverein Der Musikfreunde, Vienna Symphony, Otto Klemperer cond. Rechanneled for Stereo. 2 Discs, Only 3.88

R2215. Mills Bros: SONGS YOU LOVE TO REMEMBER. The Mills Bros. with 20 of their big hits: Across The Alley From The Alamo, Mood Indigo, Tonight You Belong To Me, Siboney, more. Stereo. 2 Disc Set, Only 3.69

R1953. Charles Byrd: 16th CENTURY SPANISH GUITAR MUSIC. 11 beautiful Renaissance works, ranging from love sonnets to courtly dances and comic peasant songs, by Valderabano, Milan, Mudarra, Pisador & de Narvaez; Charles Byrd, guitarist. Rechanneled for Stereo. Pub. at \$4.79. Special 1.98

R1812. THE MAGIC WORLD OF CHILDREN'S FAVORITES: 5 Record Set. Over 3 hours of entertainment—55 songs and stories: Do-Re-Mi, Mexican Hat Dance, Blue Tail Fly, Polly Wolly Doodle, Little Engine That Could, Casey Jones, Wyatt Earp, Sleeping Beauty, many more. Mono. Orig. \$23.95. 5 Record Set, Only 4.98

R698. BOUZOUKEE—THE MUSIC OF GREECE. 10 liltng, clapping, stomping pieces from Greece, with Iordanis Tsonidis, bouzoukee, and others. Stereo. Only 2.49

R938. Schubert: PIANO TRIOS (Complete). The 4 magnificent Trios for piano, violin & cello, Opus 99, 100, 148 & the B Flat Major Trio ("Sonata"); The Beaux Arts Trio; "Tonal blend and rhythmic ensemble are no less than perfect." Music & Musicians. Stereo. 2 Records, Only 3.88

R633. COMPLETE ORGAN MUSIC OF J. S. BACH: 18 Disc Set. All the Preludes & Fugues, Chorales, Toccatas, Partitas, more; 217 WORKS performed by Walter Kraft on 20 Bach-period organs; full program notes plus Albert Schweitzer's famed essay "The Performance of the Organ Works." Stereo. Orig. \$59.70. 18 Discs, Special 19.95

R401. Simonato in ROSSINI'S BARBER OF SEVILLE. Classic recording with Giulietta Simonato, Bastianini, Misciano, Corena, & Slep; Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, Erede cond. Only in Mono. 3 Discs, Only 5.94



R235. Strauss: ALSO SPRACH ZARATHUSTRA. The complete Nietzsche-based symphonic poem—includes theme music featured in 2001 A SPACE ODYSSEY; Vienna Philharmonic, Herbert von Karajan cond. Stereo. Only 1.98

R400. Simonato/Donizetti: LA FAVORITA. Only Stereo Recording & a delightful performance with Giulietta Simonato, Poggi, Bastianini, & Jerome Hines; Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, Erede cond. Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.94

R404. Mahler: DAS LIED VON DER ERDE. Ravishing performance of this incomparable song cycle with Maureen Forrester & Richard Lewis; Chicago Symphony, Fritz Reiner cond. Stereo. Only 1.98

R375. Helen Traubel's DIE WALKURE. The fabulous Traubel in top form with Act III Complete & Duet, Act I, Scene 3; with Emery Darcy, Herbert Janssen, Met Vocal Ensemble & New York Philharmonic, Rodzinski cond. Rechanneled for Stereo. 2 Discs, Only 4.98

R398. Lehar: THE MERRY WIDOW. One of the world's most delightful operettas superbly sung by Hilde Guden, Per Grunden, Emmy Loose & Waldemar Kmentz; Vienna State Opera Cho. & Orch, Stolz cond. Stereo. 2 Discs, Only 3.96

R319. BEVERLY SILLS: BELLINI & DONIZETTI HEROINES. Stunning coloratura arias from Bellini's I Capuletti ed i Montecchi & La Sonnambula, Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor, Linda di Chamounix, Roberto Devereux & Rosmonda d'Inghilterra; Vienna Volkssopern Orch & Akademie Cho, Jalas cond. Stereo. Very Special 2.98

R315. A LILY PONS GALA. The world's most famous coloratura in her favorite arias from Lakme, Rigoletto, Puritani, Barber of Seville, Mignon, Dinorah, more; with orchestra. Odyssey; Rechanneled for Stereo. Only 2.49

R163. Toscanini: PUCCHINI'S LA BOHEME. Classic performance with Lucia Albanese, Jan Peerce, McKnight, Valentino; NBC Symphony, Arturo Toscanini cond. Rechanneled for Stereo. 2 Record Set, Only 3.88

R310. VLADIMIR HOROWITZ plays RACHMANINOFF'S PIANO CONCERTO NO. 3. The unparalleled artistry of Vladimir Horowitz in a dazzling, definitive performance of a work unsurpassed in its virtuoso brilliance, plus Haydn's Piano Sonata #52; London Sym, Albert Coates cond; "Absolutely electrifying rendition." Stereo Review. Only in Mono. Only 1.98

R124. Grand Prix Du Disque: FRANCOIS COUPERIN COMPLETE ORGAN WORKS. Superb performances of the Mass for Parish Services and Mass for Convent Services by the renowned Michael Chapuis, at the organ of St Maximin. Stereo. 2 Record Set, Only 3.88

R176. Puccini: TOSCA. Incomparable performance with the truly wonderful, never-to-be-forgotten voices of Zinka Milanov, Jussi Bjorling, and Leonard Warren; Rome Opera Orch, Erich Leinsdorf cond. Stereo. 2 Record Set, Only 3.88

R2345. Simonato/Rossini: BARBER OF SEVILLE. Rossini's liltng masterpiece with the incomparable voices of Giulietta Simonato, Giuseppe Taddei & Luigi Infantino; Milan Radio Italiana Orch, Fernando Previtali cond. Rechanneled for Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.94

R2335. Johann Strauss: THE GYPSY BARON (Der Zigeunerbaron). Brilliant, inspired, ever-popular operetta combining vigorous Hungarian Gypsy music with Viennese waltz melodies; Eberhard Wachter, Rudolf Schock, Erzebeth Hazy, others; Berlin Opera Cho & Orch, Robt Stolz cond. Stereo. 2 Discs, Only 3.88

R2258. Granados: GOYESCAS. The famed piano suite, vibrant with typical Spanish rhythm and color, inspired by Goya's royal tapestry "cartoons"—amorous, passionate, dramatic and tragic; Rena Kyriakou, piano. Stereo. Only 1.98

R2175. Mahler: SYMPHONY NO. 5. Mahler's monumental 5th symphony, opulently romantic, thematically prodigal, dramatically moving; superb performance by The London Symphony, Rudolf Schwarz cond. Stereo. 2 Disc Set, Special 3.88

R1902. Orig. Broadcast: Orson Welles' WAR OF THE WORLDS. Original recording of the famous Orson Welles' 1938 Halloween prank about invasion from Mars. Mono. Orig. \$4.79. Special 2.98

R1757. BACH ORGAN MUSIC. Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, Prelude and Fugue in E Minor, Pastorale in F Major, Fugue in C Minor, and 6 Chorale Preludes; Walter Kraft, organ. Stereo. Orig. \$4.79. Only 1.49

R1779. ANDRES SEGOVIA plays J. S. BACH. Segovia's own guitar arrangements of Bach's Cello Suite #6, Lute Suite in E, Prelude #3, Lute Sonata #1, Chaconne, & Violin Partitas #2-3. Mono. Special 1.89

R848. Krips' COMPLETE BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES. Now, arranged in sequence for automatic record changers, the famous London Festival definitive performances; comp. notes & Pictorial History of Beethoven's life. Orig. in different format at \$40.00. Stereo. 7 Discs, Only 9.95

NEW RELEASES

R396. Delibes: LAKME—1st Stereo Recording. The sparkling favorite of great coloratura sopranos with the unique Joan Sutherland, and Alain Vanzo, Gabriel Bacquier; Monte Carlo Opera Orch, Richard Bonynge cond. London; Stereo. Pub. at \$17.37. 3 Discs, Only 13.88

R395. Premiere Recording: CATALANI'S LA WALLY. Only Available Recording; an opera of overwhelming stark realism with Renata Tebaldi in one of her greatest tragic roles and Mario Del Monaco, Piero Cappuccelli, Justino Diaz; Monte Carlo Opera Orch, Fausto Cleva cond. London; Stereo. Pub. at \$17.37. 3 Discs, Only 13.88

R394. Mascagni: L'AMICO FRITZ—1st Full Stereo Recording. The lush melodies of Mascagni and the ravishing voices of Mirella Freni, Luciano Pavarotti & Vincenzo Sardinero; Covent Garden Cho & Orch, Giandrea Gavazzeni cond. Angel; Stereo. Pub. at \$11.58. 2 Discs, Only 9.98

R393. GOUNOD'S ROMEO AND JULIET—1st Stereo Recording. The ravishing music of Gounod with the gorgeous voices of Mirella Freni, Franco Corelli, Xavier Depraz, Claude Cales; Paris Opera Cho & Orch, Alain Lombard cond. Angel; Stereo. Pub. at \$17.37. 3 Discs, Only 13.88

R671. THE ART OF GERALD MOORE. 15 rare song recordings accompanying Kathleen Ferrier, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Kirsten Flagstad, Christa Ludwig, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Victoria de los Angeles, 10 other artists. One of Saturday Review's "Year's Best Recordings." Mono. Only 1.98

R846. Beethoven: COMPLETE PIANO TRIOS. Only available recording of the 9 Violin, Cello & Piano Trios, with the Archduke, Kakadu, Trio Op. 11 & Variations Op. 44; The Beaux Arts Trio. Stereo. 4 Discs, Only 7.88

R374. WALTZES FROM OLD VIENNA. The authentic Old Vienna Waltz as it was heard in the Cafe Roubin & Goldene Birne played by The Alexander Schneider Quintet; the Strauss & Lanner waltzes Wiener Blut, Wiener-Bonbons, Die Roman-tiker, Tyroler Landler, more. Stereo. Only 2.49

R323. COLLECTED PIANO MUSIC OF CHOPIN. 169 complete selections, all the Waltzes, Preludes, Nocturnes, Etudes, Polonaises, Mazurkas, Scherzi, Ballades & Impromptus; performed by Guiomar Novaes, Walter Klien, Peter Frankl, others; gift boxed. Stereo. 12 Record Set, Only 14.95

R332. Vivaldi: L'ESTRO ARMONICO (Complete). The justly famed 12 Concerti Grossi which exerted pivotal influence on Bach; Vienna State Opera Chamber Orch, Mario Rossi cond. Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.88

R314. PAUL ROBESON: SONGS OF FREE MEN/SPIRITUALS. The unforgettable voice of Paul Robeson in 16 selections: Joe Hill, Native Land, Oh How Proud Our Quiet Don, Go Down Moses, John Henry, Water Boy, Balm In Gilead, more. Odyssey; Rechanneled for Stereo. Only 2.49

R320. ADLAI E. STEVENSON: The Man, The Candidate, The Statesman. Absorbing portrait through recorded excerpts of his most memorable speeches from the campaigns to the UN. Mono. Pub. at \$5.79. Very Special 1.00

R318. Fritz Wunderlich/Schubert: DIE SCHONE MULLERIN. D. 795. The incomparable lyric tenor of Fritz Wunderlich in a flawless performance of this incredibly beautiful song cycle; full texts incl; Kurt Stolz, piano. Rechanneled for Stereo. Only 2.49

R402. ALEXANDER KIPNIS in Mussorgsky's BORIS GODUNOV (Excerpts). Immortal Performance by the finest Russian bass since Chaliapin; Coronation Scene, Monologue, Clock Scene, Death Scene, more. Only in Mono. Only 1.98

R176. Walter Gieseking: BEETHOVEN'S PIANO CONCERTO NO. 5 "EMPEROR." Magnificent performance by the legendary Beethoven interpreter, Walter Gieseking; Philharmonia Orch, Galliera cond. Stereo. Only 1.98

R2332. Millocker: THE BEGGAR STUDENT (Der Bettelstudent). Only available complete recording; classic Viennese operetta of love and trickery to some of the world's favorite waltz tunes; Rudolf Schock, Hilde Gudden, Fritz Ollendorff, others; Berlin Symphony Orch, Robt Stolz cond. Stereo. 2 Discs, Only 3.88

Mozart: COMPLETE SONATAS FOR VIOLIN & PIANO. Definitive performances of the 15 Violin & Piano Sonatas; Joseph Szigeti, violin, Mieczyslaw Horszowski (& George Szell in Vol. 2) pianists; VOL. 1, Sonatas K.296, 301-2, 304-6, 377 & 380; VOL. 2, Sonatas K.303, 376, 378-9, 454, 481 & 526. Rechanneled for Stereo. R344. VOLUME 1. 3 Discs, Only 5.88 R345. VOLUME 2. 3 Discs, Only 5.88

R2257. MUSIC FOR MANDOLIN & GUITAR ENSEMBLE. Ensemble works from the late 16th & early 17th centuries by Caroso, Molinaro, Besard, Gallie, others, all forming the basis for Respighi's 3 Suites of Ancient Airs & Dances; Vienna Mandolin Ensemble with harp & hpchd. Stereo. Only 1.98



R2222. Novas: BEETHOVEN PIANO SONATAS. The legendary artistry of Guion Novas in 3 of Beethoven's most popular sonatas: Moonlight, Les Adieux, and Waldstein. Stereo. Only 1.98

R2112. Fritz Wunderlich: SONGS FROM VIENNESE OPERETTAS. Fritz Wunderlich & Friederike Saller in 8 songs and duets from the brightest, merriest of Vienna's operettas, works by Johann Strauss, Lehár, Von Suppe, Dostal, Millocker, others; Stuttgart Philharmonic. Stereo. Only 1.49

R1844. MEDIEVAL & RENAISSANCE MUSIC—For Irish & Medieval Harp, Vle, Recorders & Tambourin. Performed by Elena Polowska (harp & tambourin), Guy Durand (vle & 2nd recorder), Roger Cotte (1st recorder). Stereo. Only 1.79

R397. Richard Strauss: DIE FRAU OHNE SCHATTEN. Dramatic, powerful presentation of this deservedly popular opera with Leonie Rysaneck, Elisabeth Hogen, Emmy Loose, Christel Goltz, Hans Hopf, Kurt Boehme, Paul Schoeffler; Vienna Philharmonic, Boehm cond. Stereo. 4 Discs, Only 7.88

R1616. Julian Bream: BACH RECITAL FOR GUITAR. The famed Bream guitar in a Chaconne, Sarabande, Bourée, Little Prelude in C Minor, other works. Rechanneled for Stereo. Only 2.98

R372. C. P. E. Bach: MAGNIFICAT. Lovely, spirited, late Baroque work; soloists Elly Ameling, Theo Altmeyer, others; Tolzer Boychoir; Collegium Aureum, Kurt Thomas cond. Stereo. Only 1.98

R380. Sullivan: PINEAPPLE POLL. Charles Mackerras' sprightly ballet created out of Sir Arthur Sullivan's operetta scores, with enormous, delightful helpings from Gilbert & Sullivan's liveliest works; Pro Arte Orch, Hollingsworth cond. Stereo. Only 1.98

R366. Albanese/Gigli/Puccini: LA BOHEME. Truly exciting performance with Licia Albanese and Beniamino Gigli in glorious voice, with Tatiana Menotti, Afro Poli, Duilio Baronti; La Scala Cho & Orch, Berrettoni cond. Only in Mono. 2 Discs, Only 3.96

Shostakovich: COMPLETE STRING QUARTETS. Powerful statements of these 11 very stirring quartets, possibly the composer's most important and memorable works, by the prize-winning Borodin Quartet. Stereo. R360. QUARTETS NOS. 1-5. 3 Discs, Only 5.88 R361. QUARTETS NOS. 6-11. 3 Discs, Only 5.88

R348. Mahler: DES KNABEN WUNDERHORN. Magnificent recording of this 13-song cycle based on German folk poems and encompassing military, lyrical and humorous imagery; Maureen Forrester & Heinz Rehfuss, Vienna Festival Orch, Felix Prohaska cond. Stereo. Only 1.98

R266. Sibelius: FOUR LEGENDS FROM THE KALEVALA, Op. 22. Only Available Complete Recording; Sibelius' musical retelling of the great Norse myth cycle: Lemminkäinen & The Maidens, Lemminkäinen In Tuonela, Swan of Tuonela, Return of Lemminkäinen; Buffalo Sym, Lukas Foss cond. Stereo. Only 2.49

R304. Kurt Weill: THE THREE PENNY OPERA. Complete score of the famed Weill-Brecht classic, sung in German; Helge Roswaenge, Kurt Preger, Alfred Jerger, other stars of the Vienna Opera; Vienna State Opera Cho & Orch, Adler cond. Eng. text incl. Stereo. Only 1.98

R154. Casals/Serkin: BEETHOVEN'S COMPLETE MUSIC FOR CELLO & PIANO. The 5 Cello & Piano Sonatas with the 3 sets of Variations on themes by Handel & Mozart performed by the incomparable duo Pablo Casals and Rudolf Serkin. Rechanneled for Stereo. 3 Disc Set, Only 7.47

R302. J. S. Bach: CANTATA NO. 80 "Ein' Feste Burg" & CANTATA NO. 104 "Du Hirt Israel, Hoere." #80 based on Martin Luther's hymn "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" & the pastoral #104 using the text of the 23rd Psalm; Giebel, Lewis, Matthes, Rehfuß, soloists; Amsterdam Bach Cho & Orch, Vandernoot cond. Stereo. Only 1.98

R182. Brahms: THE FOUR SYMPHONIES. Moving, expert performance with the Vienna Philharmonic, Rafael Kubelick cond. Stereo. 4-Disc Set, Only 7.88

R180. Beethoven: COMPLETE STRING QUARTETS. The 16 quartets complete with Grosse Fugue and standard endings of Op. 130; full program notes; superb performance with The Fine Arts Quartet. Stereo. 9 Discs, Special 10.95

R2295. DAME MYRA HESS CONCERT. Bach: Whitsuntide Choral Prelude & Toccata in G; Beethoven's Sonata #25; Debussy's Engulfed Cathedral; 6 more works by Rachmaninoff, Brahms, others; taken from Steinway Duo-Art piano rolls. Stereo. Only 1.98

R2302. PETE SEEGER. 12 songs: House Carpenter, Road To Elial, Bayeza, Kisses Sweeter Than Wine, Paddy Works On The Railroad, more. Rechanneled for Stereo. Only 1.98

R2230. Handel: THE MESSIAH. Stirring performance utilizing Handel's original manuscript; soloists April Cantelo, Helen Watts, Wilfred Brown, Roger Stalman; London Philharmonic Orch & Choir, Walter Susskind cond. Stereo. Pub. at \$19.16. 4 Discs, Special 5.88

R2174. Alirio Diaz: 400 YEARS OF THE CLASSICAL GUITAR. World-famous Venezuelan guitarist Alirio Diaz with 13 works for classical guitar by Tarrega, Albeniz, Bach, Sor, Haydn, Scarlatti, Lauro, others. Stereo. Pub. at \$4.98. Special 1.98

R2111. ELVIRA MADIGAN THEMES. All the musical selections serving as background music to the widely-acclaimed film: Mozart's Piano Cto #21 and music by Vivaldi; Soloists, Vienna & Stuttgart Pro Musica, Perlea & Reinhardt cond. Rechanneled for Stereo. Only 1.79

R1710. VIVA BRASS!—5 Record Set. Over 3 hours entertainment and 50 selections of the NEW brass sounds from Tijuana, Guantanamera, Brasilia & Espana: Taste of Honey, Zorba the Greek, Guantanamera, Manollette, Mi Merenque, Gitanillo, many more. Stereo. Orig. \$23.95. 5 Record Set, Only 4.98

PRIZED PERFORMANCES

R388. Callas in Bellini's NORMA. Maria Callas' first Norma recording made at the peak of her vocal career, a stupendous vocal tour de force by a marvelous singing-actress; backed by the superb voices of Ebe Stignani, Mario Filippeschi & Nicola Rossi-Lemeni; La Scala Cho & Orch, Tullio Serafin cond. Only in Mono. 3 Discs, Only 5.94

R311. Callas in LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR. Famed performance with Maria Callas at the peak of her vocal career plus Giuseppe Di Stefano and Tito Gobbi; Florence May Fest. Orch, Serafin cond. Mono. 2 Discs, Only 3.96

R2347. Ponchielli: LA GIOCONDA. Electrifying performance with Maria Callas in magnificent voice, and supported by the brilliant Fedra Barbieri, Gianni Poggi & Giulio Neri; Turin Radio Italiana Orch, Antonio Votto cond. Rechanneled for Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.94

R435. Maria Callas' LA TRAVIATA. The famed Callas Lady of the Camellias performed at the peak of her vocal career, with Francesco Albanese & Ugo Savarese; Turin Radio Italiana Orch, Santini cond. Rechanneled for Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.94

R365. Stokowski/Gilere: SYMPHONY NO. 3. "ILYA MUROMETZ". Gilere's "rumbling" symphonic interpretation of the life of the Russian folk hero in a superbly romantic rendition by Leopold Stokowski & The Houston Sym. Stereo. Only 1.98

R218. Kathleen Ferrier/Bruno Walter: MAHLER'S SYMPHONY NO. 5 & KINDERTOTENLIEDER. Kathleen Ferrier's superb voice & Walter's unexcelled Mahler; New York & Vienna Philharmonic Orchs; released to rave reviews by Leonard Bernstein, ARG, Saturday Review, High Fidelity, more. Rechanneled for Stereo. 2 Disc Set, Only 4.98

R174. Schwarzkopf/Edelmann: WAGNER'S DIE MEISERSINGER. Classic, complete performance of Wagner's famed comic opera with the incomparable voices of Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Otto Edelmann, Hans Hopf, Erich Kunz, Gerhard Unger; Bayreuth Festival Orch, Herbert von Karajan cond. Mono. Special 5 Disc Set, Only 9.88

R209. Mozart: COSI FAN TUTTE. Delightful performance of this Mozart comic favorite; Lisa Della Casa, Christa Ludwig, Emmy Loose, Anton Dermota, Erich Kunz, Paul Schoeffler; Vienna Philharmonic, Karl Bohm cond. Stereo. 3 Disc Set, Only 5.88

R202. Wagner: PARSIFAL. ALL-STAR CAST: Wolfgang Waggenass, Martha Modl, George London, Ludwig Weber; an unsurpassed interpretation with the Bayreuth Festival Orch, Hans Knappertsbusch cond. Mono. 5 Discs, Only 9.88

R2296. WANDA LANDOWSKA CONCERT. Mozart's Sonata #17, K.576, Lanner's Valse Viennoises, Beethoven's Sonata #12 (Funeral March) & Andante Favori in F; taken from Steinway Duo-Art piano rolls. Stereo. Only 1.98

R2292. PLAINSONG TO POLYPHONY. 27 sacred choral works by Victoria, Palestrina, Lassus, Monteverdi, Tallis, Byrd, Morales, des Prez, others; Choir of the Carmelite Priory, London (members drawn from The Ambrosian Singers), John McCarthy cond. Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.88

R2225. THE WORLD'S GREATEST MUSIC, Vol. 3: 10 Disc Set. 19 complete works with the eminent artists Oistrakh, Richter, Gilels, Kempe, Aneerl, Barshai, more; incl. Smetana's The Moldau, Sárka; Mendelssohn's Scotch Sym; Tchaikovsky's 4th Sym, Bach's Piano Cto #1, Violin Cto #1; Beethoven's 5th Sym, Piano Cto #1; much more. Mono. Made to sell at \$49.50. 10 Discs, Special Package 5.95

R2132. VLADIMIR ASHKENAZY plays CHOPIN & LISZT. Integrate recording of the complete Chopin Etudes, Op. 10 & 25, the Nocturne in B, Op. 9 #3, Ballade No. 2, and Liszt's Mephisto Waltz. Mono. Pub. at \$9.96. 2 Record Set, Special Import 1.88

R2068. Shostakovich: SYMPHONY NO. 8/STRING QUARTET NO. 4. The dark days of WW II, the offensive and the triumph; Leningrad Philharmonic, Yevgeni Mravinsky cond. ALSO 4th String Quartet with The Beethoven Quartet; an MK recording. Mono. Pub. at \$9.96. 2 Record Set, Special Import, 1.98

R1824. BAGPIPES & DRUMS—9th Regimental Pipe Band. Wearing O' The Green, Minstrel Boy, Blue Bonnets, Bonnie Dundee, Campbells Are Coming, many more. Stereo. Only 2.49

R1300. JAZZ: 20 of the World's Greatest Jazz Artists Performing All Time Jazz Classics. Maynard Ferguson, Count Basie, Johnny Smith, Phineas Newborn, Joe Newman & others. 5 LPs. Stereo. Orig. \$14.90. Only 4.98

R1279. GREGORIAN CHANTS. 18 Gregorian Chants appropriate to various times of the year sung by the Benedictine monks of the Encheat Abbey near Carcassonne in France. Stereo. Only 1.98

R337. J. S. Bach: MASS IN B MINOR. An exceptional, and moving performance of this Baroque masterpiece; soloists Alarie, Delfosse, Hoffman, Simoneau & Rehfuß; Amsterdam Philharmonic Society Cho & Orch, Walter Goehr cond. Stereo. 2 Discs, Only 3.88

R359. RICHARD TAUBER OPERA ARIAS. One of the world's most beloved tenors in arias from Rosenkavalier, Rigoletto, Traviata, Trovatore, Aida, Tosca, Carmen, Tiedland, Jewels of the Madonna, others. Mono. Only 1.98

R339. Handel: THE CHANDOS ANTHEMS, 1-6. Six of Handel's English Psalms incl. No. 100 "O Be Joyful In the Lord"; Helen Boatwright, Charles Bressler, Jerrold Held, Donald Miller, vocalists, with soloists & Rutgers Univ. Collegium Musicum, Mann cond; "A triumphant success", The Gramophone; "One's only reaction can be rapturous awe", American Record Guide. Stereo. 3 Discs, Only 5.88

R341. A DELIUS CONCERT. Sir John Barbirolli & The Halle Orchestra: "Imelin" Prelude, On Hearing The First Cuckoo In Spring, "Fennimore & Gerda" Intermezzo, Walk To The Paradise Garden, and "I Once Passed Through A Populous City." Stereo. Only 1.98

R223. THE CLASSICAL GUITAR OF JULIAN BREAM: 3 Record Set. Bach: Chaconne, Sarabande & Bourée, 6 more; Falla: Tombeau De Claude Debussy; Torroba: Nocturno & Burgalesa, 2 more; Sor: Largo, Rondó Allegretto & Minuetto, 4 more; Villa-Lobos' 5 Preludes; Turina: Hommage A Tarrega, 3 more. Rechanneled for Stereo. 3 Disc Set, Special 5.88

R290. Three Discs: EDITH PIAF Deluxe Set. More than 30 of Edith Piaf's immortal classics: No Regrets, Milord, La Vie En Rose, Exodus, Black Denim Trousers, Les Grognaards, 27 more; sung in French. Capitol, rechanneled for Stereo. 3 Discs, Special 9.38

R272. THE ROYAL FAMILY OF OPERA. 37 of the world's greatest singers in arias from their greatest roles: Flagstad, Tebaldi, Sutherland, Nilsson, Suliotis, Crespin, Bumbry, Simionato, Ghiaurov, Del Monaco, Bergonzi, Fischer-Dieskau, Corelli, MacNeil, Windgassen, 17 more. Stereo. 3 Disc Set, Special 4.99

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

Marboro Dept. NR-170, 131 Varick St., New York, N.Y. 10013

Please send me the bargains circled below. (Please add 45c postage and handling on all orders under \$10.). MINIMUM MAIL ORDER \$3.

☐ Ship C.O.D.* ☐ Enclosed find \$ _____

Charge my ☐ Amer. Exp. ☐ Carte Blanche ☐ First Nat'l City (check one) ☐ Diners Club ☐ Uni-Card ☐ Everything Card } Limited to orders of \$5.00 or more

& write in your account # _____ the amount of \$ _____

R117	R124	R149	R154	R163	R174	R176	R180	R182	R202	R209	R218
R223	R235	R266	R272	R290	R302	R304	R310	R311	R314	R315	R318
R319	R320	R323	R332	R337	R339	R341	R344	R345	R348	R359	R360
R361	R365	R366	R372	R374	R375	R380	R388	R393	R394	R395	R396
R397	R398	R399	R400	R401	R402	R404	R435	R633	R671	R698	R846
R848	R938	R941	R942	R963	R1279	R1300	R1616	R1710	R1757	R1779	R1812
R1824	R1844	R1853	R1902	R1953	R2012	R2068	R2111	R2112	R2132	R2174	R2175
R2215	R2222	R2224	R2225	R2230	R2257	R2258	R2259	R2291	R2292	R2295	R2296
R2300	R2302	R2306	R2332	R2335	R2345	R2346	R2347	R2348			

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

☐ Check here if you receive monthly bargain circular. New York City residents add 5% sales tax. Other New York State residents add applicable sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D. Same sale bargains at all Marboro Book Shops.

10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

TRB

from Washington

Keep Your Shirt On

Spring has reached Washington. One morning a clump of snowdrops came up unexpectedly through a snowbank like ideas that had reached their time. Now crocuses. Over Pennsylvania Avenue the elms are different – the swelling buds have made a kind of brown haze in branches that were stark at the Inaugural.

But at the White House the season is reversed. Fall is setting in. There's been a sharp frost. The political calendar follows its immutable laws, too; and the cycle is different. Things are never going to be the same anymore for Mr. Nixon after ABM.

For a couple of months the public has been watching Mr. Nixon, sizing him up. It's been less what he did than how he did it. He has done it very well. Few people were prepared, I think, for his controlled, facile, noteless press conferences. His European tour was a *tour de force*. This pleased a lot of people and disappointed a lot.

There is an element of hostility to Mr. Nixon of which he is quite aware. It goes way back to his red-baiting days and has developed into the Nixon grudge. His critics don't want to give him the benefit of the doubt. They dislike and distrust him. If we groped for a parallel, it would be the time when big business and the Liberty League hated FDR; they were ready to dislike him for anything he did, even when it benefited them. This showed up for Mr. Nixon in the very first Gallup Poll after he took office when his honeymoon popularity was presumably near peak. He got approval by 61 percent whereas the equivalent score for Ike at about the same point was 68; Kennedy, 72 and Johnson, 79. Mr. Nixon can confound even his

bitterest critics in one way, presumably; he can get peace in Vietnam. Or, in a broader context, he can push the world toward control of nuclear arms with which the Vietnam issue is connected. So far casualties in Vietnam continue. The President deserves more time, as Vietnam critics Mike Mansfield and Teddy Kennedy felt as they listened glumly in the Senate to George McGovern reopening the Vietnam attack the other day. They sat silent, fingering the text of the McGovern speech (which they had in advance) after telling the press that they want to give Mr. Nixon every chance.

But nobody who knows Washington can miss the tension over Vietnam in Congress (and presumably the country). The battle over anti-ballistic missiles leads subtly into it.

One thing to be remembered is the Pentagon's own credibility gap. It misled Kennedy on the Bay of Pigs. It took a Dr. Strangelove position on the Cuban Missile crisis. It made ridiculously hopeful assessments of the Vietnam situation. It created the Pueblo humiliation. And it was prepared to pull out all the emotional stops – fear, pride, patriotism – for a city-oriented ABM-Sentinel system (against China or whoever) which Mr. Nixon wisely rejected. Now the military-industrial complex is going to town for the modified system.

It is terribly hard for a layman to know what to think on the ABM. This reporter went up to a Senate panel the other day where the witnesses were James R. Killian, George Kistiakowsky and Herbert York, just about the highest scientific authorities you can find. All three have been Presidential or Pentagon advisers.

The ABM is an intricate machine, they said, a kind of IBM equipped with radar sensors on hair triggers, lofted into air and then supposed to discriminate in split seconds between dummies and real missiles before detonating. It only knows what has been fed into it. It makes the decision, not the White House or the men on the ground. These three knowledgeable scientists and others like them (Jerome Weisner, for example, science adviser to Kennedy-Johnson) quietly said that the state of the art isn't such that these ABM's can be relied on. Irrespective of anything else, political or moral, they didn't think these would work.

Well, they were asked, had they been asked to testify at the Pentagon? No, they said. Before the Armed Services committees? No, they said. At the White House? No, they said.

One can be a layman and still be informed on certain things. For example, what a megaton is. It equals a million tons of TNT. After you have seen one megaton you have seen them all so far as personal survival goes. As Churchill put it, what good is overkill; why make the rubble bounce? The US and USSR now have the capacity for mutual self-destruction. For some reason, most Americans feel that we have a moral right to more megatons than the Russians – and we do have more. Our new Secretary of Defense, Two-gun Laird, warns us that the Soviets are challenging our lead in ICBM launchers. We have 1,050. Keep your shirt on, Melvin! We also have 656 launchers on submarines, which is far ahead of them.

And we also now have the MIRV's (Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicle) which makes an intercontinental missile a kind of common carrier for a five-fold passenger load of warheads which can saturate any area. Presumably the Russians will have them, too. Mr. Nixon, in effect, now says it was a silly idea ever to dream of trying to defend our cities; all he wants to do is to make a start in spending \$6- or \$7 billion to protect some missile sites up north; oh, and he would protect Washington, too; that's where Congress is and where the elm buds are swelling.

We guess this battle in Congress will go on for a couple of months and we don't know how it will turn out. It was really quite amazing how the opposition flared to the original ABM plan. We have rarely seen anything like it. It was a real outburst. But now, maybe, Messrs. Nixon and Laird can sell us what Mary McGrory calls the "new, streamlined, expandable, economical, non-provocative, defensive, flexible, phased, rural-model Sentinel-Safeguard which is 'in the interests of peace throughout the world.'"

Well, maybe Mr. Nixon can. Mal-mastrom, Montana and Grand Forks, North Dakota, are delighted at the new industry. And there's always plenty of money; just cut back on poverty funds a little or delay city rehabilitation; first things come first.

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts. Volume 160, Number 13, Issue 2831, March 29, 1969. Published weekly (except the last week in December) and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 40c. Yearly subscription \$10; Foreign \$11; Armed Forces personnel or students, \$6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department, The New Republic, 381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright© 1969 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

- 5-10 Comment
 - Campus Disorders,
 - Poverty Audit, Nuttering, Russia's
 - Yellow Peril, Crackdown in Saigon,
 - Young Democrats
- 10 Cutting Down the Lords
 - Anthony Howard
- 11 Reading the Mind of the 91st Congress
 - John Osborne
- 13 Report from Thailand: Motorboats, Monarchy and Private Enterprise
 - Alex Campbell
- 15 Nixon's ABM: Very Thin Indeed
 - Robert Rothstein
- 16 Community Control of Schools: Off to a Bad Start - Joseph Featherstone
- 23 Books - Reviews by Lore Segal, Stanley Kauffmann, Kenneth Boulding, Stanley Moss
- 24 Poem - Jack Matthews

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief - Gilbert A. Harrison
 Managing Editor - Alex Campbell
 Literary Editor - Richard Gilman
 Associate Literary Editor - Stanley Kauffmann
 Associate Editors - David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone, John Osborne
 Production Manager - Ira Klafter
 Assistant to the Editors - Gwen Somers
 Contributing Editors -
 Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway, Paul Wieck
 S.E. Asia Correspondent - Zalin B. Grant
 Publisher - Robert J. Myers
 Circulation Manager - Bertha Lehman
 Business Manager - Glenon Matthiesen
 Advertising Manager - Holly Reppert
 New York Advertising Representative - E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White
 50 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10017
 Office of Literary Editor -
 17 Charlton St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Campus Disorders

The Administration says it is going to bear down on campus troublemakers; that's what the country wants, that's what the country will get. "These are the acts," said our stern Attorney General, "of militants who are entering a conspiracy." Mr. Nixon's press secretary last week predicted more energetic enforcement of laws to punish disrupters. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare says, Amen. It seems to be the right time to lower our voices and reflect about the nature of universities, of campus protest, and of the law itself.

Let's begin with the students. The activists may be unruly, unreasonable, uncivil, unkempt. Their most objectionable fault, in the judgment of some of their elders, is the contempt they have for their elders and the institutions their elders serve. Agitators are often provocative, insulting, destructive. It should be noted as well that this is an extraordinarily creative younger generation. For the most part, it is not morally indifferent, not malicious, cynical, lazy, or dumb. The protesters are not against the Vietnam war because they prefer Communism. They are not critical of the "Capitalist Establishment" because it isn't paying them enough. They are a compliment to the democracy they are free to ridicule.

Student demands tend to be for more practical and less theoretical training. They call for more personal teaching, the concomitant of which is necessarily less scholarship on the part of the faculty - whether or not the scholarship itself is objectionable, as in defense-connected research. Proposals for black studies especially are of this sort. Protest centers on a desire for more academic relevance to the social scene, to social justice. The activists look beyond the campus to the neighboring, and often run-down community. They question the university's complicity in militarism. Some are trying to develop a style of life, that combines highly personal values and activism with scholarship. The university is where they express their social concern, for the reason that they are there, and that the university supplies convenient facilities. Many student demands have nothing to do with the university at all. They are legitimate, but directed at the wrong end of society. They could as well be directed to city hall, the Ford Foundation or the poverty program. They have to do with racism or the war in Vietnam or the draft. If one wants to deal with these complaints in substantive terms, one ought, as President or gov-

ernor or mayor, to think about how to get rid of discrimination, reform the draft, end the war. Neither students nor college presidents are responsible for *them*.

Some tactics used by militants are clearly out of bounds (classroom disruption) as well as being misdirected. To insist that the subject matter of a particular hour or an entire course be different than it is, *even if you're right*, and to do so by foul language, or beating on the desk, is to employ means that are self-defeating. They are self-defeating because free discourse is the lifeblood of any university; if it is cut off, the heart stops. Most anything can be educating, but education as an organized enterprise can't stand abusive intimidation. It is characteristically a civilized enterprise (civilizing too when it works), and a degree of civility is a prerequisite. Other kinds of disruption – planting bombs or shoving at meetings – are plain fascist hooliganism, intolerable on the streets but more intolerable in a university, because the university is more defenseless. The result of such tactics is that the university, classically an open park, begins locking itself in, putting up walls and gates, hiring more cops.

What universities (and not the government) can do when provoked in this manner is to start suspending and expelling students. Universities can also put into their catalogs and make known, what the university's commitments are and what they are not, and

they should be looking at those who are coming to the university in these terms. If someone wants to major in community action, he should not go to Princeton but to where the action is. In time, suspension, expulsion for destructive conduct and active recruitment of people who *are* interested in doing what the university offers, will help.

What government can do is to address itself to grievances unrelated to the ways universities perform. The obvious examples, again, are the draft and Vietnam. Beyond that, government can devise or help finance enterprises (domestic peace corps, the Teacher Corps) which engage the generous energies of the young. Denying federal funds to student radicals accomplishes nothing, even if such a denial could be enforced. And it adds nothing punitive to what the university can do on its own: suspend, expel or not admit. The law passed last year by Congress says that if a student (or employee) of a university has been convicted in court of a crime of force against the institution, or has not obeyed a "lawful regulation or order" of the institution (providing the student's act was of a serious nature and contributed to a "substantial disruption"), and if, following the student's conviction, a university hearing certifies that all the above is so, *then*, federal aid to the student can be taken away. That is a very roundabout way of saying that it's up to the university. The fact that this law on student funds has so rarely been applied is evidence enough of its futility.

The other law which the Administration seems eager to enforce is even more unworkable. This is the federal riot statute, which says that if you cross a state line or ship something across a state line with the *intent* of committing a riot or some other unlawful act (under the laws of the state where you end up), you have committed a crime. But you must start out with the intent of doing it, which is extremely hard to prove. And when you do it, you are guilty of a federal crime as well as a local crime. It is bad law, opening the door to atrocious injustice. For if one assumes, and it is a reasonable assumption, that local juries are going to hate longhaired agitators, the statute, if enforced, will make it possible to put people in jail simply because Attorney General John Mitchell doesn't like them. It is an invitation to revenge by unsympathetic juries.

Finally, it is essential to keep in mind the distinction between demonstrations – including certain kinds of disruption – and violence. Violence is unacceptable. Actions that are symbolic protests may not be. The line isn't easy to draw. If a disruption makes it impossible for the university to operate, or if a professor is systematically prevented from lecturing, the limits of tolerance have been exceeded. Universities that have maintained discourse are those whose administrators have treated fairly serious disruptions as invitations



"We're from the International Red Cross with parcels for your prisoners."

to talk, not as matters for the police, the National Guard, or the courts. How an event gets defined makes a big difference. At Brandeis, President Morris Abram kept the lines of communication open when black students occupied a building in January. He appealed to the faculty, alumni and trustees to let the school handle its own problems, and kept talking, ultimately coming to an agreement.

Much depends on how serious the students are about the issues they're protesting and how badly the disruption affects the operation of the institution. At the University of Pennsylvania, Antioch, Brandeis and other places, officials have been wise enough to see that ending a temporary occupation of a building or an office is not worth broken heads, or a radically polarized university. They maintain a sense – increasingly rare in the age of impersonality – that the uni-

versity is a community, and that students, faculty and administrators are all members of it.

Officials in state universities often don't have the necessary margin of freedom in which to operate. They are under strong pressure to maintain law and order at any price, and if it looks as though protests aren't under control, they lose what independence they have to law forces outside the campus, and the situation spirals into the vicious circle of violent confrontation.

The Nixon Administration may think it's a good idea to Reaganize this issue – it's popular enough – but they should understand that most university officials who have dealt successfully with students would prefer to be left alone. Once the controversy is in the hands of outsiders – the police, the national guard, a governor, the Attorney General – it may be beyond satisfactory resolution.

Poverty Audit

The General Accounting Office has been wallowing for 14 months in what its employees call "the Prouty work," a study of the Office of Economic Opportunity and its anti-poverty programs, which Congress ordered in December 1967, at the urging of Senator Winston Prouty of Vermont. Senator Prouty, a Republican who has supported anti-poverty legislation while berating OEO and other officials who seemed to him to be "hesitant and evasive" in their accounts and justifications of their programs, persuaded his colleagues to call for a review by its own investigative instrument, the GAO. The summary report was released last week and Senator Prouty predicted that "it will be of immense value to everyone concerned with our fight against poverty."

In its introduction to the report, the GAO seems to be in some doubt about that and also about its competence to perform the "extremely difficult and complex" task assigned to it. Its staff of auditors was instructed not only to check in GAO's normal fashion upon the efficiency of OEO and its subsidiaries but, in the rather plaintive words of the report, "to formulate judgments as to the extent to which OEO's anti-poverty programs are achieving [their] objectives." In attempting to comply with this "unique and unprecedented" directive, the GAO used 250 of its own employees, 3 research contractors, and 19 individual con-

sultants at a cost of around \$1.2 million. The resulting contribution to anti-poverty planning and to improvement is quite modest, to say the least. Notwithstanding the valiant efforts of the press to highlight and sharpen the findings, negative and positive, and the exaggerated alarms of White House and anti-poverty officials in advance of its release, the report may fairly be described as one long waffle. Consider, for example, the net judgment of OEO's Community Action Program and the 1,000 or so local Community Action agencies sponsored under it at a five-year cost of some \$3.5 billion: "The program . . . has been an effective advocate for the poor in many communities and appears to have gained acceptance in most communities as a mechanism for focussing attention and action on the problems of the poor; and it has introduced new or expanded existing services to the poor. However, CAP has achieved these ends in lesser measure than was reasonable to expect in relation to the magnitude of the funds expended." The detailed findings in the body of the report will be of little or no more help, we should think, in arriving at sound Congressional or private judgments of the Community Action program. GAO's doubts of the value of the Job Corps and its resident work-training centers are more forthrightly expressed, and, they will encourage the Nixon Administration in its emerging purpose to dismantle or, at the least, to curtail the Job Corps in favor of company work-training projects supported with federal grants and tax incentives.

The most valuable aspect of GAO's report is the

one sure to be the most neglected. Its repeated apologies for the straddles that distinguish it emphasize the enormity of the poverty problem, the little that we really know about it, the folly of arbitrary judgments concerning it and the as yet insufficient national effort to deal with and relieve "the poor."

Nuttering

G. Warren Nutter, a Soviet specialist from the University of Virginia, author of a comprehensive study of the Soviet economy, and the new Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, has escaped general notice so far. He's worth noticing.

"I'm afraid our foreign policy is sheer romanticism, without any real logic involved in it," Nutter told *US News and World Report* in 1964, apropos President Johnson's desire to "build bridges" to the Soviet Union. At the time, Nutter was one of Goldwater's principal campaign advisers. "Our government shies away from anything which carries any immediate risk at all, no matter how small," he said, "and then rationalizes whatever course is left, even though the ultimate risk is much greater. In cold reality, this leads to nothing more than a policy of appeasement, and I mean this in the literal sense associated with Neville Chamberlain. . . . The course that is being followed now is to be nice and to be friendly, because it seems less risky at the immediate moment. This is rationalized on the ground that fat Communists are less dangerous than skinny ones." But, "as soon as they become fat – or rather, fatter – they get more belligerent and aggressive." Better thin Communists, he argued, because they will want to change their system. Thus the 1963 wheat deal, in which President Kennedy sold grain to the Soviet Union for hard Western currency (no credits involved) was bad, because (as Nutter said in 1963 Senate testimony) Kennedy should also have demanded at a minimum that Moscow tear down the Berlin wall or get its troops out of Cuba. East-West trade is also bad, he said in 1967, for it "simply makes it easier for them to carry out the military programs they're going to do anyhow, and at the same time perhaps alleviate the internal discontent." "If we bail them [the Russians] out," he said with respect to trade in 1964, "they will use the time at their disposal to retrench, to build up their power and to somehow manage the difficulties that they're involved in."

The Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs is an officer whose importance is little appreciated. In some considerable measure the nation owes the nuclear nonproliferation treaty to the persistence of the late John McNaughton, who served as ISA under Defense Secretary McNamara. McNaughton's successor, Carl Warnke, played the key staff role in Defense Secretary Clifford's successful effort last year to modify President Johnson's approach to the Vietnam war. Under Laird, ISA will continue to be a principal source of advice on Vietnam to the Defense Secretary. The office formulates Defense Department position on all foreign political and military issues, including arms control and disarmament. It also runs the foreign military assistance and arms sales programs. Nutter sits on the highly important review committee of the National Security Council, a staff group that prepares agenda for Presidential-level NSC meetings.

The Senate confirmed Nutter's nomination without a word of debate. The Senate Armed Services Committee gave him about 30 minutes of cursory questioning. Nutter explained that he had accepted Laird's offer of the Pentagon job because "after long reflection on the conditions as I see them in the world, the fact that I have exercised my rights as a private citizen to criticize from time to time what has been done in our government, I felt that I owed an obligation to serve when called upon to do so." Senator Goldwater, back in the Senate after his 1964 adventures in Nutterism, told the Committee, "It is a real pleasure for me to endorse Dr. Nutter. . . ."

Russia's Yellow Peril

What is new about recent border clashes between Chinese and Soviet forces is that the Russians, for the first time, broke the story. There have been similar incidents, about which Moscow said nothing publicly. Why the publicity now? One explanation is that the Russians hope the "Chinese threat" can be made to work for them within the international Communist movement; in particular, at the planned May-1 world conference at which they want maximum attendance, including all Asian Communist parties. For years the Russians have tried to stage such a conference and have failed. The Vietnamese haven't wanted to go to condemn the Chinese; the Rumanians haven't wanted to be present while someone is being read out of the movement (they might be read out next).

Secondly, the Russians are playing a very complicated game in West Europe, particularly on the German issue. They are (as in Berlin) applying pressure, but saying there should not be counter pressures (on them), because they are threatened from the East. In Bonn, Paris and Tokyo, the Russians paid special visits within the past two weeks to foreign offices, ostensibly to convey their alarm over Chinese aggression. It is a strange kind of alarm. None of the descriptions of the border incidents given by the Russians or the Chinese suggest any use of airpower,

which from the Russian side would be an easy way of snuffing out Chinese intrusions, or at least of giving the Chinese a very hard knock. Certainly, Russian military superiority is overwhelming. The scuffles seem confined to a very limited area; the dispute is over one small point: who owns an apparently uninhabited island in the Ussuri. There are 4,500 miles of Sino-Soviet frontier. Only here is there trouble.

In addition to exploiting the Chinese threat to deflate West European pressures on Moscow and simultaneously to bring other Communist parties closer to the Soviet party, the Russians may see a possibility here of playing on the American notion of the Moscow-Washington-Peking triangle. A triangle suggests fixed lengths of lines; if you shorten one leg, you lengthen another; shortening the Chinese leg on the American side lengthens the Russian leg. In other words, you make good guys versus bad guys the choice for Americans; you and they have something in common – the Yellow Peril. At the same time, you isolate the Chinese and minimize any possibility of a détente between Peking and Washington.

The Chinese reaction to the initial Russian announcement of the border clash was fairly restrained. There has been no violence against the Soviet Embassy or Soviet personnel in Peking. Demonstrations ran their ritual time, then faded. The Chinese Foreign Ministry note to the Russians was almost a legal brief, reminding Moscow that the Chinese had laid claim to this island in 1964, and the Russians then agreed it was a proper claim. (That fact has not been disputed by the Soviets.)

The Chinese are not in a strong position to meet this Soviet political offense. Their internal situation is only slightly more stable than it was a year ago. The authorities are uprooting tens of millions of the urban population and trying to load them onto the countryside. They've not got new schools going in any of the urban areas; they haven't got their books in order for their forthcoming Party's Congress; there are reports of tension within the southern provinces.

Crackdown in Saigon

On February 23, Thich Thiem Minh, director of Saigon's Buddhist Youth Center, and South Vietnam's second-ranking Buddhist political leader, was arrested along with more than 50 members of his organization. On March 15, a military court sentenced him to 10 years of hard labor. It is a death sentence. Despite this monk's courage in standing up both to General Thieu and the Vietcong, he is a weak and ailing man. Two-and-a-half years ago, he was nearly disemboweled by a hand grenade in an assassination attempt generally

attributed to agents of Premier Ky. He never recovered, and it is unlikely that he could survive even 10 weeks of hard labor.

During the past two months there has been a whole series of political arrests of Buddhist monks, students and youth leaders; but the conviction of a man of Thiem Minh's stature is indicative of how far General Thieu is willing to go to throttle any criticism of his government. For the United States to countenance these arrests not only harkens back to Ambassador Lodge's encouragement and support of Ky in his crushing of the opposition Buddhists in mid-1966; it also indicates that the Saigon military leadership feels certain of continuing, uncritical US backing and that the Nixon Administration is not pressing for a broadening of Thieu's very narrow base of popular support. With South Vietnam's government led by a Catholic general, allied with a Catholic dominated senate in a country where Catholics constitute less than 10 percent of the population, political suppression is now taking on religious overtones reminiscent of the last months of Ngo Dinh Diem.

Meanwhile in Washington, Secretary Laird says it isn't true, we aren't contemplating any troop withdrawals soon. The Nixon Administration has yet, in the words of one of its officials, "to amend the John-



Just Maypole

son scenario" in any substantial way. That scenario reads that no concessions are to be made in Paris which give Hanoi and NLF an acknowledged foothold in South Vietnam at the conclusion of the negotiations. Instead of giving Ambassador Lodge a package of new instructions, the President intends to out-wait the other side, in the belief it eventually will come up with proposals the US can then counter with amendments or additional positions.

Young Democrats

The Young Democrats have almost decided to be younger Democrats, but not until 1972. They did this by voting, at a recent meeting of the YD National Committee in New Orleans, to lower their age limit to 35, effective January, 1972. The present age limit is 40. Said one person who attended the recent meeting at which the tentative decision was made (it must be ratified at a national convention in the fall), the organization looks "37 and white." A motion to lower the age to 30 drew such limited support that its backers didn't ask for a roll call. So when the YD's meet in the fall in Las Vegas, the scene will again be dominated by the not-so-young emissaries of Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, Mayor Joseph Barr of Pittsburgh and ex-National Chairman John Bailey.

It is as if the youth arm of the party has learned nothing from 1968, when Senators McCarthy and Kennedy, and later McGovern, rallied thousands of young people to electoral politics. They had a string of successes. Most of these newcomers want to stay in politics. But few will find a home in an organization that is a meeting ground for "mickey mouse" politics.

Some of their elders realize this. National Chairman Fred Harris put no members of the Young Democrats on the two reform commissions he named recently. He found his young people elsewhere.

Cutting Down the Lords

London

One of the first expensive shows to be produced on London's West End stage immediately after the Second World War was an elaborate musical called *Big Ben*. Written by the humorist and former Independent member of Parliament, A. P. Herbert, it was a toast of

amused affection to the Parliamentary system, with particular emphasis ("There's a lot to be said for the Lords," ran one of the songs) on the glories of Britain's hereditary Second Chamber. Today that chamber's right to survive in its present form is the most contentious legislative issue in British politics.

There are 736 hereditary peers of the United Kingdom; they claim three-quarters of the seats in the House of Lords: the rest are either peers of first creation (persons whose titles were given to them at least on the strength of their own contribution to the national life), Anglican Bishops or senior judges known as Law Lords. All in all – even given the invention of a new category of Life Peers ten years ago (whose titles are not passed onto their sons) – it is hard to quarrel with the description of the House of Lords as "the world's greatest constitutional anachronism."

The Labour Party made some vague noises about reform in its election manifesto, but for 18 months after his massive election victory in 1966 Harold Wilson had nothing at all in public to say about it. Only when last summer the House of Lords refused to go along with a Commons resolution extending sanctions against Ian Smith's Rhodesia did the Prime Minister make it clear that the Lords (as a punishment) were to face "comprehensive and radical reorganization."

The government's proposals – when they were finally published last November – did not quite live up to that description. Under the plan now being debated by the Commons, the House of Lords, which has a national membership of over 1,000 (only some 500 peers have been in the habit of turning up either regularly or even occasionally), will be reduced to something like 250. Birth will no longer be a sufficient qualification for voting in this new reformed House – although, as an act of charity, present hereditary peers will be allowed to go on attending and even speaking if they want to. The 250 voting members will be selected by the Prime Minister on a party basis – with the government-of-the-day enjoying a ten per cent superiority in numbers over both the opposition parties combined. The government party will not however have an absolute majority, as the balance of power will be held by a group of some 30 or so independent or "cross-bench" peers who will be expected to exert their influence in a disinterested fashion. As a final unkind cut, the new House will have its powers (confined since 1911 to delaying Commons legislation rather than vetoing it) sliced roughly in half.

From the moment the government introduced its Peerage Bill, it has been in trouble. Assailed with equal vigor by government and opposition backbenchers it has produced the nearest thing to an organized filibuster that the British Parliament has seen since the pre-First World War debates on the Irish question. For about 45 Labour backbenchers the bill represents a further and shocking strengthening of the executive

at the expense of the nation's elected representatives. What, they demand to know, will the new peers be except "yes-men" owing their very political existence to acts of personal patronage by the respective party leaderships? For a slightly larger group of Conservatives – some 60-odd – the government's proposals represent an effort to tear down the whole traditional fabric of British society. Abolish the hereditary principle, they warn – and in no time at all the monarchy itself will be gone as well. There is grave doubt whether if the government tried to cut off debate on the issue (70 hours of it so far) by use of the "guillotine" (cloture) it would have the votes to do so.

As Britain confronts its battle for economic survival, there is something faintly bizarre about its elected representatives wrestling night after night with what for many is still essentially a musical comedy issue. Harold Wilson, on coming to power, promised the people of Britain "a sense of purpose": what even some of Labour's own supporters are now accusing the Prime Minister of is a penchant for the irrelevant. The old David Lloyd George question – "Shall Peers or People Rule?" – no longer seems crucial. More to the point – especially in the light of the present export-crippling strike at Ford's Auto Factory in Dagenham – is whether government or unions shall control the economy. That, for a Labour Prime Minister, is a much tougher question.

Anthony Howard

Reading the Mind Of the 91st Congress

by John Osborne

As the new Administration enters its third month, Congress is still "waiting for Nixon," and both Republicans and Democrats are beginning to wonder why the President is taking so long to formulate and submit a domestic legislative program. The line that the slow pace merely reflects the President's "careful wending of his way," as House Republican leader Gerald Ford tells his restive band, is wearing thin. The Democrats audibly doubt that he knows the way he wants to go and Republicans in frequent touch with him are embarrassed by their patent lack of certain knowledge that he does. The embarrassment extends to the White House, where concern that the vaunted Nixon prudence may soon be taken for procrastination is evident among his staff.

After the Republican leadership's regular Tuesday

meeting with Mr. Nixon last week, Congressman Ford and his Senate counterpart, Everett Dirksen, took obvious pleasure in their ability to announce that there *will* be an Administration bill to curb one-bank holding companies. They could say as much about very little else in the domestic area. Even the Nixon position on retaining the ten percent surtax on incomes was in doubt: Senator Dirksen could and did recite all of the familiar reasons, many of them previously noted by the President, why abandoning the surtax this year is just about impossible, but he had not been authorized to say that the Administration intends to recommend its retention. At his two sessions to date with the Congressional leaders of both parties – he has had no serious discussion with the Democrats alone – Mr. Nixon has talked only in generalities that left the majority leaders on whom he must depend for legislative success more irritated than pleased. Two of his Cabinet secretaries, Robert Finch of HEW and George Shultz of Labor, have been busy on Capitol Hill in group and individual conversations with strategically placed Representatives and Senators, and they have cultivated the liberal-to-moderate Democrats with special zeal. Their message has been that Nixon is coming up with a domestic program that all but the wildest liberals can support, and that even they can accept without excessive pain. When the Cabinet emissaries are asked to get specific, however – "Okay, but what's he going to do?" – they have had to answer that they don't know what Mr. Nixon is going to do about specific issues, because Mr. Nixon hasn't told them, either.

Granting that the pros and cons of every major domestic issue confronting the President are being studied and weighed with all the deliberate care claimed by the Nixon staff, another and relevant explanation is also offered privately at the White House. It is that Mr. Nixon is getting two contradictory readings of the dominant attitudes in the 91st Congress and particularly in the House of Representatives. The one with the heaviest professional backing is that he faces in this Congress the same coalition of conservative Democrats and rock-hard Republicans that Lyndon Johnson had to deal with, and that any significant domestic legislation with a chance of passage will have to be tailored for that coalition. The other reading is that there is in the House, ready and anxious for Presidential encouragement, the makings of a majority coalition of more or less liberal Republicans and liberal-to-moderate Democrats that could, if intelligently recognized and nurtured, assure passage of the kind of legislation that Finch, Shultz and Nixon himself profess to prefer. It seems clear that what Mr. Nixon wants above all else from this Congress is a successful first session, successful at least in the sense that he survives it without any severe defeats. That requires

a correct choice between the two readings offered him, and the impression is that he has yet to decide which of them is the correct one. Once he does decide, this interpretation of the current delay suggests, the Nixon program will be submitted in short order.

Obvious support for the first reading of House attitudes, and less obvious but persuasive support for the second, is to be found in a document that deserves and presumably is receiving close study at the White House. It is an analysis of Democratic voting patterns in the last Congress, published this month by the liberal Democratic Study Group. The DSG consists of 120 dues-paying Representatives plus 20 to 25 others who generally vote a liberal line but dare not offend their conservative constituents by open association with it. The dues (raised this year from \$50 to \$100 annually) and private contributions support a small research staff and finance studies like the one published March 10. Its purpose is to show Democrats in the House what the sacred seniority system of selecting committee and subcommittee chairmen actually does to them and to their party, but it has some lessons for Republicans and for the Nixon Administration as well.

The study analyzes votes on 30 key issues in the two sessions of the 90th Congress. The Johnson Administration took a clear position on 26 of the 30 issues, the Democratic Party platform on most of them, and in DSG's opinion all of them presented unmistakable choices between liberal and conservative views. Ninety-one percent of the votes cast by DSG Democrats supported the Administration and party position. Only 69 percent of the votes cast by non-DSG Democrats supported their President and party. But the thrust of the study was at the votes of 42 of the 114 Democratic chairmen of committees and subcommittees in the last Congress. The 42, most of them from the South and border states, and all of them beneficiaries of seniority, voted more often against than for the Administration and party position. Thirty-four of the 42 voted more often (92 percent) against Democratic measures than the Republicans did (76 percent). What DSG calls "the national Democratic position" — usually, the declared Democratic Administration position — was defeated in 17 of the 30 instances and "Democratic committee and subcommittee chairmen alone were responsible for over half [of] the 17 defeats." Including the recalcitrant chairmen, 75 non-DSG Democrats voted more often against than for Democratic positions. "All but two of these were conservative to ultra-conservative members from Southern and border states."

The vices and results of rigid adherence to seniority aside, the study is a reminder that a House coalition of Republicans and what a prominent DSG Congressman calls "Republicans with a Southern accent" prevailed on 17 of the 30 tested issues and on many

others as well. Because the 1968 elections made very little difference in the composition and membership of the House, the same coalition could be expected to prevail at this session and to threaten any moderate-to-liberal legislation Nixon may have in mind. But a different projection is possible, and some influential Congressmen of both parties hope that Nixon will perceive that it is and act accordingly. Given a liberal core of around 140 DSG Democrats, 50 to 60 others who are inclined that way with less consistency, and the pressures on all Republicans to support their President in his first encounters with Congress, the makings of a moderate coalition are apparent — if, the argument runs, the President has the wisdom and the courage to give it a program around which its potential supporters can rally without undue regard for party among the Democrats.

There are interesting signs that this Congress does challenge Nixon to choose the moderate option. Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and one of DSG's prime targets, has been engaged since February 18 in hearings aimed at broad reform of the federal tax structure along lines that House and Senate liberals have advocated for years. He is said to be ready to give priority, with prospects of early action, to changes in present law that would deprive corporate conglomerates and questionable foundations of the tax privileges that they now enjoy and frequently abuse. Like the Johnson Administration, the Nixon Administration has taken no position on these and other proposals before the Mills committee, but Treasury witnesses will be appearing at the end of the hearings, probably after the Easter recess, and will then be compelled to declare the Nixon view. Such conservative stalwarts as Senator Roman Hruska of Nebraska are preparing their constituents for a Nixon course directed down "the middle of the road" — veering a little to the right, perhaps, but not to the ultra-conservative right. Barry Goldwater is admonishing worried conservative Republican groups not to demand of or expect from this Republican who won the Presidency all that they expected from the Goldwater who lost it. In early hearings and votes on renewal and extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Democratic majority on the House Education and Labor Committee has put Secretary Finch and, through him, the President on notice that any tendency to get federal programs in that field will be resisted and probably defeated.

If Nixon is getting accurate signals from Capitol Hill, he is aware that much more delay in submitting his major legislation can only make trouble for his Administration. Such disparate and influential Democrats as Hale Boggs of Louisiana, the House majority leader, and Richard Bolling of Missouri, a DSG pillar

and advocate of reforming the party's seniority structure, are beginning to wonder whether Mr. Nixon is playing tricks with Congress. Could it be that he intends, by going slow with his proposals and finally submitting very few of any real substance, to encourage Congress to do as little as possible and then, in the 1970 campaign, to blame a "do nothing" Democratic majority in both houses for the poor showing? A suspicion that he has precisely that in mind is much alive among Congressional Democrats and it seems to some of them that their Republican colleagues are singularly embarrassed when it is voiced to them. Neither the Democratic leadership nor the DSG liberals propose to stand still for any such tactic. The DSG plans to establish task forces, supported by expert staff, to develop liberal Democratic legislation that should, at the least, require the Administration to take positions for or against it. The regular leadership is similarly inclined, with the result that the final consequence of dilatory Republican tactics could be that the Nixon Administration rather than the Democratic majority is made to appear as the "do nothing" element in the political equations of 1970 and 1972.

Report from Thailand

Motorboats, Monarchy And Private Enterprise

Bangkok

Arriving in Bangkok from Delhi is a cultural shock. The Indian capital is spacious and splendid and extremely leisurely, whereas the capital of Thailand has the appearance of a frenetic little Tokyo. Delhi looks as if it were bathing in the refulgent rays of an everlasting imperial sunset. The Mogul Gardens, with their ponds, lily pads, orange trees and frangipani trees, are no longer for the exclusive enjoyment of the British Raj in the person of the Viceroy, but instead are thronged by Indians of all classes and castes (most of them carrying transistor radios made in Japan). Nevertheless the calm splendor of the red sandstone palace that formerly housed Viceroys and now accommodates Indian presidents seems unruffled. The Delhi atmosphere of unchanging, petrified history is greatly enhanced by the apparent determination of Mrs. Gandhi's government to make India a largely socialist country that practices stern austerity so as eventually to be as near as possible self-sufficient. The immediate practical effect of this puritanical pol-

icy of very high taxes and almost no import luxuries is very light traffic. There are few automobiles, and most of them are ancient, small British and Italian designs. In his March budget, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Morarji Desai, raised the import tax on cars to 100 percent, and cracked that this would double the value of an imported car as a status symbol. Meanwhile, Delhi's very broad main roads and frequent huge traffic circles simply swallow the thin trickles of vehicles, like the vast Indian rivers, which normally contain little water and a great deal of sand.

The street scenes of Bangkok are very different. The importers seem to be working overtime, bringing in Japanese, German and American cars in quantities that are now far in excess of the city's ability to handle them. The rush begins in the early morning and after only an hour the main streets are clotted with apparently inextricable tangles of jammed vehicles. What does flow freely is human sweat, for at this time of year the temperature is at 88 well before noon, and very humid.

Most of Bangkok's traffic fortunately is not by road but by river and canal. The city is interlaced with canals, and housewives go shopping by boat. But the craving to be up-to-date has also overtaken the canal traffic. The boats that formerly were rowed with seemingly effortless grace, get their velocity from racking outboard motors. Spirited youths go shooting up and down the canals like rockets, sending great waves washing through the waterside wooden homes. Even saffron-robed Buddhist monks, their heads shaved and wearing the poker faces that presumably connote deep meditation, seem always in a hurry and race past in speedboats. The tourists who go by boat to visit Bangkok's famous floating markets have no option. The tourist craft are all equipped with ear-splitting engines, as well as guides whose volubility is a waste of breath as not a word can be heard. The tourist boats are too large and unwieldy to go fast in the narrow canals that are jammed with other craft. The smaller speedboats race around them all, impartially soaking everyone with spray.

According to the foreign minister, Mr. Thanat Khoman, Thailand is "a paradise threatened by Communism." The Communists, however, are not in evidence in Bangkok. They are miles off, in the trackless north and northeast, on or near the border with Laos, and also in the extreme south in the jungles on the Malaysian frontier. What is very much in evidence in Bangkok is American influence. There are at least 50,000 American airmen in Thailand, and thousands more American military descend on Bangkok from Vietnam, for "rest and recreation." The inevitable consequence is a proliferation of Happy clubs, Seesaw bars and prostitution. Less crude, but perhaps more significant, is the kind of American influence that was signified by Under Secretary Alexis U. Johnson, when

he was Ambassador to Thailand in 1960. Mr. Johnson said then that, "Thailand presents an opportunity for American capital to demonstrate what private enterprise can accomplish in the economic development of a country." American capital and know-how have been hard at work ever since, and the demonstration has duly taken place. There is a widening gap between the rich and the poor, an obsession with gaudy consumer goods that so far has benefited Japanese and American exporters rather than Thai craftsmen or manufacturers, rising prices, jangled nerves, increasing crime and a stampede of people into the towns, which are incapable either of employing all the immigrants or of decently housing them. The economists point with pride to the five percent rate of annual growth of Thailand's gross national product. But about half of this seems to be directly derived from American military spending, on such items as the six air bases (\$700 million) and a new deepwater port (\$150 million). This military spending, which has now gone on in Thailand for about a decade, and the presence of the 50,000 American airmen, are of course entirely due to the Vietnam war. When that war ends, neither the Thais nor anyone else have the faintest idea of what will happen either to Thailand or to the Thai economy. The plethora of imported consumer goods that is so overwhelmingly visible in Bangkok suggests that the Thais are not taking too much thought for the morrow, and certainly are not copying the Indians' puritanism and frugality—taxing and denying themselves in the present, in the hope of becoming more self-sufficient at some future date.

This is not to say that nothing whatever is being done and that all the American money is passing through feckless Thai hands into Japanese and other pockets. The Thai government talks a good deal about national planning and development, and includes some excellent economists. But Thailand's affairs have always been in the control of a tiny elite that has not been notorious for penny-pinching or even prudence, and in any case the task of developing Thailand presents serious problems. The 36 million Thais are mostly peasants, with hardly any education and few if any skills save those that are traditional and therefore now outmoded. There is not much scope for manufacture and little chance of creating a common market with neighboring countries, except perhaps Malaysia. Such small industry as exists is dominated by elite families, who also run the government bureaucracy and who are the military.

Thailand's fortune, apart from the fortuitous American military spending, lies in its fine rice that it is able to sell abroad to India and other countries. As far as manufactures are concerned, even the Indians seem able easily to outsell the Thais. The government planners have not been able to do very much

for Thai small businessmen or for the uprooted peasants who stream into the towns. (They are uprooted in part because, with rising land values, the landowners have awakened to the profitability of more intensive development, and their ability to dispense with tenants.) Not a great deal has been done, either, for the peasants who are still on the land, who grumble that they are not getting their share of water from the new irrigation schemes. The government professes keenness to develop the northeast, where guerrillas are causing trouble and where incomes are on the average only half of the average elsewhere. But although about one Thai in three lives in the northeast, so far only about two dollars per head per year is being spent on rural development there. There are said to be about 3,000 guerrillas operating in the northeast, and about a thousand near the Malaysian border in the south. For at least five years, the guerrillas have been bathed in a floodlight of no doubt gratifying publicity, accompanied by horrendous forecasts of Thailand being subverted into another Vietnam. In fact the guerrillas, who have little or no popular support, have so far shown themselves incapable of more than murderous assault on local officials and government spies, of whom they do manage to dispose of between 100 and 150 each year; this in a population of 12 million scattered in remote villages. As most of the disaffected are refugees originally from Vietnam, Meo tribesmen, or people of Laotian origin, Thailand's northeast problem is scarcely different from India's endemic Naga and Mizo tribal difficulties. What gives it significance is the Vietnam war, the presence of North Vietnamese troops in neighboring Laos, and anti-Thai rumblings from Peking. The rest of Thailand, and probably not more than a fraction of the northeast itself despite its backwardness, is not a hayrick that only awaits a subversive match to burst into flames.

Thailand's real problem comes from a directly opposite source, the impact on its way of life of "what private enterprise can accomplish." The impact is already severe, and the question is how the Thais intend to react to it. The Thai tradition is to be flexible, to bend with the wind and bow to the storm, but to make the most of every opportunity to retain as much as possible of Thai values without being forced or maneuvered into an open, therefore costly, defense of them. That is how the Thais dealt with the Japanese in World War II; how they would probably deal with a similar Chinese threat if one seriously emerged; and how they appear to be dealing with the current onslaught of Western modernization. Thus far, in spite of considerable social stresses, they seem to be doing rather well. But the stresses are bound to increase.

Recently, after a decade of virtual military rule, Thailand returned to a weak solution of parliamentary democracy. This experiment had been tried before but was discarded without much popular commotion, be-

cause of corrupt politicians and ambitious military men. The military caste, led by Marshal Thanom Kit-tikachorn who prefers posing as a prime minister to appearing openly as a junta member, and General Prapas Charusathiara who modestly robes his strong-man role in the cloak of Minister of Interior, ran up a United Thai People's Party on their political sewing machines, and went to the polls with it. The results may have surprised them. They lost Bangkok to the opposition Democrats led by Seni Pramoj, and are still maneuvering to try to win or buy the allegiance of 72 elected independents. The military were not dislodged, for they have 76 of the lower house's 219 seats, to the Democrats' 57, and on all vital issues the lower house votes jointly with the senate, which is three-quarters its size and is rendered safe by consisting of appointees of the executive. Moreover, all the politicians, in the government or in opposition, and including the socialists as well as the independents, are merely factions of the Thai upper classes and mostly related to one another. The elections nevertheless removed any fears that 10 years of military rule had made Thais supine or brainwashed. Mr. Pramoj gave the military a good tongue-lashing, and the successful independents, as well as the scores of candidates who ran and failed or tried but failed to run, were no less outspoken. In the countryside, peasants freely cursed the government for its corruption and its neglect of them. Finally, as soon as the successful candidates of all parties had assembled in Bangkok, bold members of the ruling party, as well as Democrats and independents, announced they intended to try to force the government to see to it that poor peasants as well as rich landlords got a proper share of irrigation water, and also to see to it curbs are put on the police, who in Thailand have until now had the power to prosecute as well as to arrest. The parliament that the military had long promised to

restore and finally did may still be only a toy; but it is also a model that points the way to a stronger legislative branch in a not too far-off future.

Some rich Thais, including ones who made their piles only recently, conscientiously devote a portion of their wealth to schools or other good causes. Nevertheless the gap between rich and poor in Thailand is widening. An increasing number of wealthy Thais send their children to school abroad in Switzerland or elsewhere in the West. An increasing number of the children of the poor do not get any schooling at all. This is because there are very few schools and rapidly rising numbers of school-age children. At higher levels of education, Thailand has so far not shared in the student unrest that is sweeping other countries – not because Thai college students are less dissatisfied with a world they never made, but because each time there is a threat of trouble, the King of Thailand rushes to the scene and restores harmony, or at least its appearance, just by appearing. King Bhumipol is 42, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts as a result of the ups and downs of pre-war Thai politics, and has been on the throne since his elder brother was mysteriously murdered in Bangkok in 1946. The King has a beautiful Queen and is devoted to her and to the saxophone, which he likes to play alongside leading jazz musicians who visit Thailand from time to time. More important to his country, he is extremely popular with youth, especially the students, who will generally do whatever he requests. The ruling military and the politicians are well aware of this, and King Bhumipol uses his influence with great skill both to allay discontent and to pressure the ruling elite into concessions and reforms they otherwise might refuse. As far as its internal affairs are concerned, therefore, Thailand at present looks like succeeding, with its typically Theravada Buddhist tactics of flexible response, to Alexis U. Johnson's and others' innovations.

Alex Campbell

Nixon's ABM: Very Thin Indeed

by Robert Rothstein

All that was missing from Mr. Nixon's virtuoso performance, when he announced his intention to begin deployment of a modified ABM system primarily designed to protect our land-based retaliatory forces, was

the invocation of Eisenhower's name, or at least his benediction by telephone "consultation." Perhaps the omission is explained by the fact that several of Eisenhower's leading scientific advisers had spent a

good deal of time that very week blasting the system as ineffective, unnecessary and provocative. Not at all, replied the President; instead, it will protect us from accidental attacks, from a Chinese attack within the next decade, and from a direct Soviet attack against our land-based retaliatory forces. He also assured us that the Russians will not regard the ABM as provocative, for its defensive intent is "unmistakable."

The contention that an ABM system would save lives in the event of an accidental missile strike, presumably involving only a handful of missiles, makes some sense in the abstract, but loses most of its force when placed in context. We cannot protect ourselves from every conceivable danger; we do not keep to our bed because we are fearful of being killed in the streets. When we are thinking about survival, we make some rational judgment about probabilities. How probable is it that an accidental strike – released somehow without anyone's intending it, or by a mad commander hoping to trigger a third world war – will hit those missile sites Mr. Nixon plans to "safeguard"? The chances are what? One in a hundred, a thousand, a million? It's an unanswerable question.

If an accident were to occur, we would want to protect our cities, not missile sites. Protecting two missile complexes and areas around them means that the rest of the country goes unprotected – unless, of course, the system is expanded into a countrywide area defense, plus point defense of missile sites. In the interim (after 1973 but before more sites are protected), the notion that we are safe against accidents is something of a joke, except in regard to the metropolitan areas of Montana and North Dakota. Finally, there are technical questions about the degree to which the ABM system *itself* is accident-prone.

We have to choose between insurance against every possible contingency, in which case we simultaneously create more dangerous strategic instabilities; and an action (forestalling ABM deployment) which may leave us somewhat more exposed if the improbable occurs, but which also offers one of the last hopes we may have of maintaining a stable deterrent.

Most professional students of Communist China believe that Peking's international behavior is not nearly as provocative as Peking's rhetoric. Mao and his colleagues know that they could be annihilated in any nuclear war with the United States. The probability that they will threaten or attack the US with their rudimentary nuclear force is extremely low. If we have been able to deter a much stronger Soviet force without an ABM, why do we need one against the Chinese within the next decade?

If we could treat the Chinese threat in isolation from our other strategic concerns, it just might be worth trying to buy some insurance against it. But unless all informed current estimates are wildly off the mark,

the Chinese nuclear force will be small in number and fairly unsophisticated for the foreseeable future. I can hardly imagine a situation in which the Chinese would attack our missile sites. If they did strike, it would surely be at our cities, so as to assure maximum destruction. Finally, no matter what the Chinese did, no matter where they might aim their missiles, they could not prevent us from retaliating, thus inviting their own demise. The ABM deployment Mr. Nixon has outlined not only does not protect our cities, but also fails to provide a missile area defense for the whole country – unless, of course, it is expanded well beyond the two sites.

Suppose we expand it? In terms of the assumed Chinese threat, the Chinese could counter that expansion by various tactics – for example, by a saturation attack on a city inadequately protected by an area system. We would then have to begin protecting our cities. But that of course begins to undermine the Soviet Union's retaliatory capacity, and could be very destabilizing, as Mr. Nixon himself explicitly noted. In sum, even if we decide we have to do something about a Chinese nuclear threat, the deployment contemplated by the President is thoroughly inadequate, and a "thicker" deployment threatens the Soviet Union, forcing them and us into more costly, dangerous and inadequate counter measures.

The essential rationale for the current ABM proposal is the capacity of a "thin" system to "safeguard" our land-based missile forces against a Soviet first strike; "to protect," in Under Secretary Packard's words, "our second strike capability." But if the Soviets want to maintain a first-strike capability against us – and it is not sure that they do – they have it within their power to do so, simply by increasing their offensive capability substantially: by investing in MIRV's (missiles with multiple warheads) for example, or penetration devices. If, on the other hand, the Russians settle for a second-strike capability, our ABM would be protecting the wrong targets – missile sites instead of cities – because the Soviets would reply to any first strike against them by retaliating against our population centers, not military targets.

It is extremely hard, therefore, to understand exactly what Mr. Nixon and his advisers have in mind, and why they are doing what they are doing. If the Russians chose to attack our missile sites, the ABM system proposed by the President would at best only complicate their efforts marginally. The system might be effective against a very light Soviet attack launched against a few of the sites, *after* we have completed full deployment of the ABM system recommended. But given the risk they would be taking against a strategically superior opponent, a light Soviet nuclear attack is almost beyond belief. Surely it would be all or nothing, and if it is all, Nixon's system is worthless.

I can only conclude that the Administration is ty-

ing "thin" deployment to a parallel effort to freeze current offensive missile levels; it's a bargaining counter. But that makes little sense either. If the Russians are willing to go along with such an agreement, we do not need the ABM at all. For it is designed to protect our retaliatory forces, and if the Soviets agree not to raise their offensive missile level substantially, our retaliatory force is not in jeopardy in the first place.

The bargaining thesis simply cannot be taken seriously. After all, the Russians know what we can do; they know too that we do not tend to under-react to their arms deployment. If they want an agreement, we hardly need initiate something which we may have to tear down. The best time to control the spread of arms is before they are deployed, not after. Once in place, they develop a role of their own, as well as a band of supporters. Consider the difficulty we had in extricating our useless and provocative missiles from Greece and Turkey, even after President Kennedy ordered it done! Their initial emplacement has to be justified on both political and strategic grounds; removing them also requires a complex and sophisticated justification. Inevitably, there are delays while political comprehension catches up to the notion of strategic obsolescence.

Anyway, Mr. Nixon has no intention of abandoning the ABM system, an arms agreement with the Russians notwithstanding. He said at his press conference that "the abandoning of the entire system, particularly as long as the Chinese threat is there, I think neither country would look upon with much favor." It is absurd to discuss the ABM as a bargaining ploy; once set in motion, the system is going to be with us permanently in one form or another.

Mr. Nixon argues that ABM's defensive intent is "unmistakable," primarily because the system he's recommending (sites, not cities) does not undermine the Soviet's capacity to retaliate against cities. ABM only improves our ability, the President says, to ride out a Soviet first strike and to strike back. In part, this reasoning appears to rest on the contention that the distinction between different kinds of ABM systems is hard and fast. Any system, however, can be seen as a preface to another, for the components and techniques are very similar. "Thickening" the system is primarily a matter of our willingness to spend more money. If the Russians do not trust Mr. Nixon and Mr. Laird, they may very well "read" this deployment as the beginning of a larger and more threatening one, which they can counter by greater investment in MIRV's and so forth. An ABM system *plus* larger investment in offensive missiles as destabilizing as the MIRV offers less security at a higher price. Parenthetically, Mr. Nixon's allusion to the possibility of reexamining the question of civil defense in this country could also be regarded as provocative; for that is a development which certainly would undermine

the Soviet's second strike capability.

The President suggests that one reason his "safe-guard" system is preferable to the Johnson Administration's alternative is that it is easier to defend missile sites than cities: for one thing, one need not worry very much about the fallout problem. However, Mr. Nixon's statement does not squarely face two other issues. First, though I agree that a city system requires virtually perfect defense, it is not clear that a missile site defense needs *only* a high percentage of kills to be effective. Missile site defense, for various reasons, may require a more accurate performance than the contemplated system promises. Second, once Mr. Nixon's system is installed, are there problems involved in getting *our* ICBM's off the ground during an attack, if there are Sprints exploding in the path of Soviet missiles in the immediate environment? I don't know the answers to these questions, but it is very important that they be asked.

There is, in my opinion, at least one other explanation for the deployment, to which I referred last week: the military wants an ABM system primarily because it would, they think, give them greater offensive flexibility in situations that are less than total confrontations (a third world war). What if the Russians threaten our "vital interests" in Europe, or the Chinese in Asia, the military asks? What response should we and could we make? One answer has been, in effect, that we ought to respond with equivalent force, in kind and degree. What happens, however, if the threat or the attack involves large numbers of ground troops and we are unable to meet it in kind? In this instance, so the argument runs, we should contemplate *initiating limited nuclear strikes*, not necessarily against the attacking forces but against the enemy's *missile sites or airfields* in an effort to dissuade him from continuing his attack for fear of further limited strikes by us. This is *not* the same as Secretary McNamara's efforts to create some elements of control during a major nuclear war between the US and the Soviet Union. Mr. Laird has something different in mind, something that would occur at a level of provocation well below general war; it would involve, to borrow Mr. Laird's phrase, "limited nuclear reprisals."

Secretary Laird is not the only one who favors such

COMING: The first of two
articles by Stanley Hoffmann
on America and France
will appear next week.

a response. Harold Brown, formerly a top Pentagon official, said two weeks ago that we must anticipate nuclear confrontations in which each side fires a limited number of ICBM's at the other side's missile sites. So, Mr. Brown argued, our missile sites need ABM protection. I have also seen this argument raised in terms of a Chinese ground threat in Asia, but with the difference that in this instance our cities would need ABM protection, because the Chinese could not hit much else. I doubt that these advocates of "limited nuclear reprisals" really believe the Chinese *would* hit us; what they hope is that *our* President would not be deterred from a limited use of our nuclear force against the Chinese, *if* he was confident that the Chinese could not hurt us in turn. The "shadow of incertitude" which has kept the nuclear trigger from being pulled, might finally be lifted; no more need to step back from the brink, and no more need to ignore military advice as was done during the Cuban missile crisis.

This "limited nuclear reprisals" strategy tries to deal with a problem for which we have no solution, but by means which are incredibly dangerous. If we are seriously contemplating this kind of action, its justification ought to be thoroughly debated.

The drawbacks to this strategy of limited nuclear reprisal are identifiable. It presumes that both sides will maintain control during a series of escalating nuclear exchanges, an eventuality which the Russians at any rate regard with considerable skepticism. Its advocates tend to act as if only *we* can protect our missile sites. But if the Soviets get an ABM as effective as ours, how will our small "limited" attacks get through? And what will they do in response, if our missile sites are protected but they feel the need to retaliate? Will they, like the Chinese, then aim at our cities? In effect, if both sides invest in ABM defenses, the "limited" exchanges may have to be very powerful to get through, and the chances of control are nil.

Underlying this strategy is an assumption about continued American strategic superiority. Throughout the strategic debates that have gone on in this country – over massive retaliation, the use of tactical nuclear weapons, limited nuclear war – we have presumed that our superiority will not be challenged. That may be true today, but it will not be true for very long. A strategy that allows for limited nuclear retaliation not only tries to compensate for political deficiencies by technical virtuosity, but makes sense only if you think that you are superior enough at the nuclear level so that rational opponents will pull back in time. Let me repeat: this would require circumstances in which the Russians, in theory, would be firing only a limited number of missiles at our missile sites. It is almost the only conceivable circumstance in which the contemplated ABM deployment would make any military sense. I would be delighted to be convinced that my

assumptions about the attractiveness of this strategy in certain quarters are wrong.

Most of us accept the fact that we must protect our retaliatory forces. But since ballistic missile defense, in the current state of the art, can neither guarantee that it will do that job better than other alternatives, nor guarantee that it will save lives, the critical question is how the other side would respond. What it *can* guarantee is that it will cost the aggressor more to mount an attack, and the defender more to meet it (especially if payloads go up to compensate for the possible kill rate of the ABM system), which is small consolation. No one knows what will happen once ABM deployment begins to take shape. The worst that *might* happen is much worse than the best that *might* happen if we go ahead.

The Soviets are still considerably weaker than we are in strategic terms. Understanding that, one understands their reliance on terror weapons, their desperate gamble in Cuba, their frenetic rhetoric and persistent fear of inspection. They *must* react to our actions, because it has been so difficult for them to maintain even the appearance of fear equality. It is a grave risk for them to gamble that our purposes are wholly defensive, for their margin of error has been very, very narrow. They are, inevitably, more concerned with problems of defense. Finally, they are beset from all sides by problems and conflicts which must appear increasingly ominous to them. The prospects for reaching some serious arms control agreements with them are said to be substantial. If that is so, any development that appears potentially threatening to them could be very foolish. It would be especially foolish to overreact to defensive measures on their part, for their response to yet another such challenge could be destabilizing.

A plea for underreaction at this time is also justified because the Soviet ABM system has done nothing beyond "complicating our effort" (according to our own officials). We should resist the desire to complicate their effort, in turn. We can stand the marginal complications without undue strain. If we are ever going to achieve some control over these dangerous cycles of innovation, exploitation and obsolescence, it is by taking the short-run risk of foregoing development of something well within our means. This is a world in which stability is tenuous, and in which we are uncertain about how to maintain it. It may be a good rule of thumb – and we have nothing else – that the risks of doing without a new weapons system may be much less than the costs of learning how to live with it. Taking that risk now might yield nothing; but it would be a prudent gamble, for we are strong enough to survive any interim challenge, and the Soviets may be ready to recognize the futility of persisting in a weapons race that yields ever more insecurity at ever higher costs.

Community Control of Schools

Off to a Bad Start

by Joseph Featherstone

The prolonged crisis over decentralizing the New York city school system is probably enormously significant for the rest of us, but it is hard to say how. By now most of the issues lie buried under layers of congealed polemic; and the blizzard of accusations, rumors, lies and slogans shows no sign of letting up. Nothing would be more timely than a dispassionate account of what actually happened, enabling us to see which aspects of the disaster are peculiar to New York and which are in the cards for all big city school systems. It would also be useful in figuring out what is to be done—for instance, what action this session of the New York state legislature should take on decentralization. Martin Mayer's *The Teachers' Strike*, a slightly expanded and altered version of a long piece in *The New York Times Magazine*, provides a narrative of the main events, but it is far from dispassionate, and most readers finish it feeling more confused than when they started.

Mayer's most serious claim is a matter of interpretation, not fact. It is his assessment of the motives of the leading figures at Ocean Hill. To Mayer, this is a story with both a villain and a conspiracy. The villain is Rhody McCoy, the unit administrator at Ocean Hill, who is said to have plotted with a few other black militants on the local governing board to force a confrontation with the city Board and the union. Mayer's support for this inference rests mainly on absence of fact: there is no evidence that McCoy ever put in writing a request to transfer specific teachers by the routine, if murky, procedures common in the New York schools. All along, according to Mayer, New York school superintendent Bernard Donovan was offering to transfer unwanted teachers by ordinary methods, but McCoy, in the interests of stirring up trouble, withheld news of these offers from the more moderate members of the Ocean Hill board. Unaware of what was happening, the Ocean Hill board was persuaded to dismiss the teachers unilaterally, thereby touching off the dynamite.

A careful reader of *The Teachers' Strike* could emerge with quite a different picture, for Mayer's abundant narrative evidence often fails to buttress his baleful conclusions. To my mind the situation was more muddled than he makes it out to be; and in some ways worse. A conspiracy, after all, is a relatively simple notion to grasp. What is harder to under-

stand is the bitterness and fear that come to the surface when warring interests clash over a long period of time, particularly in a city as convulsed by trouble as New York. The main weakness of Mayer's account is that it takes extremely serious conflicts and reduces them to the level of trivial personal gestures. Its main advantage is that it leaves the outlines of the serious issues still visible, if unresolved.

To understand what happened, you would need to recall a long series of false promises and fizzled projects which make up the despairing history of a slum like Ocean Hill-Brownsville. You would have to consider the years of agonizing, fruitless struggle for integration in New York, many of the veterans of which found themselves on opposite sides in later decentralization battles. And you would have to understand the degree of frustration over the administration of schools in Ocean Hill and the neighborhoods around IS 201, the growing awareness that the children weren't learning, and the new insistence that schools be made more accountable to parents.

There was disagreement at the outset as to what the Ocean Hill board actually was. To the city Board of Education, the elected local boards in the decentralization projects were one new element, an educational "input," adding local people to the standard mix of "inputs," to see if they would make any difference. But the Ocean Hill people never saw themselves as one additional "input" in a controlled experiment. They thought of themselves as a school board, with authority to improve the schools in any way they could.

Much of the city Board's peculiar hesitations and evasions stemmed from its fear that granting too much authority to Ocean Hill would be illegal, lacking a clear mandate from the state legislature. If the legislature had passed an effective decentralization bill in the spring of 1968, the agonies of the fall might have been avoided. As it was, the Ocean Hill board was left from the beginning with the feeling that its status was unclear and that its existence could end any month. It was supposed to be a dry run for decentralization, yet it never could allocate funds or assign personnel. McCoy's powers were supposed to be those of a district superintendent, but he was fought on many of the routine things he attempted. (On the other hand, at different times he was vagariously allowed to do more than a superintendent was per-

mitted.) He waited months for a telephone and adequate office space. The project could not get lists of parents' names for the initial governing board election. Perhaps all this was simply routine twitching of the mammoth's great corpse, the sort of thing that goes on every day in New York schools. But the Ocean Hill people were suspicious, they tended to regard it as sabotage.

Also there was an urgency about what they were doing. This was partly a matter of convincing people in an apathetic and demoralized slum community that the board could make a difference, and partly it reflected the problems of a group elected to represent a community that was scarcely a community at all. A report by the city Board's advisory and evaluation committee on decentralization, chaired by John Niemeyer, the president of Bank Street Teachers' College, said that the election was honest, if unorthodox, yet it was clear to most sensible people that one task ahead of the Ocean Hill board was to create a community for itself to represent. Less than a quarter of the parents turned out for the elections, which was good for Ocean Hill, but not all that impressive. In June 1968, a poll of parents in all three demonstration decentralization districts indicated that 29 percent supported McCoy and the board in the dispute over dismissals, and 24 percent supported the teachers. Later Niemeyer stressed what other fairly impartial observers have also said: that during the three strikes, the majority of the people in Ocean Hill-Brownsville supported the local governing board. But the board had its work cut out: it was trying to organize an unorganized community around education, even though education was not necessarily the main concern of most people in Ocean Hill. The same poll showed that in Ocean Hill, parents were worried more about crime, vandalism, and decent housing than schools. (Around IS 201 people were concerned more about dope addiction, decent housing, and crime.) I don't think any of this denigrates what the Ocean Hill board was attempting: it does suggest how urgently they felt they had to produce visible signs that the schools could get better. They needed to do this to overcome the apathy and mistrust of the "community," to many of whom they were as remote as the city Board, and also to forestall disgust with their ineffectiveness on the part of extreme militants in the area. It was not an easy role.

The city Board's torpor was, under the circumstances, intolerable to the Ocean Hill board and McCoy. In the transfer issue, as in many others, they were not trained in the lore of the hierarchy — its aptitude for *sub rosa* arrangements, its tropism (in the midst of all its rigidities) for the informal and the highly arbitrary. The city Board and the State agreed to create a special category of demonstration principals — not bound by city requirements or the waiting list — for the Ocean Hill schools. This was not exactly

a repudiation of standards, for although the normal (absurd) city requirements were waived, a candidate for principal still had to have either state certification or a BA and 30 hours of approved graduate courses in stipulated areas. So Ocean Hill could appoint its principals. But flexibility only went so far: when, under orders from their association, all 18 assistant principals transferred out, the governing board couldn't get permission to pick its own demonstration assistant principals. They discovered too late how important these jobs are in running large schools.

All this was bad enough. What was worse was that the mutual antagonism of the teachers' union and the demonstration unit had intensified. Some elements of the situation are present in all big city school systems. Children are failing; parents tend to blame the schools; teachers would rather put the blame on parents, or at least the slum environment. The whole point of decentralization had been to see what parents and teachers could do together, but in New York there was no trust; in a loose, but important sense of the word, the schools were losing their legitimacy in the eyes of an important and active number of parents. And many teachers were scared.

In New York, unlike other cities, the teachers' union became a target for critics of the school system. Partly this is a matter of race: the UFT has proportionately fewer black and Puerto Rican members than other big city unions (although more than some). Over half the kids it teaches are black or Puerto Rican. In Ocean Hill, this antagonism grew in a distinct series of steps, which both union and Ocean Hill people recall.

Originally, as Mayer's narrative points out, the UFT drew up the proposal for an Ocean Hill project and was represented on the governing board. The union people I've talked to who were around then admit that the UFT's interest in decentralization was not pressing. It was willing to unite with parents if the package included funds for a More Effective Schools program, a project involving reduced class size and heavier expenditures that has had mixed reviews. (It soon became clear that Ocean Hill wouldn't get MES money.) Those on both sides agree that even at this stage mutual suspicion was running high: union members felt bypassed in the planning, and some of the parents were openly hostile.

Some of the Ocean Hill people nominated as principal of IS 55, Herman Ferguson, who was under indictment on a charge of conspiracy to kill Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. Ferguson was also a critic of the More Effective Schools program at the school where he'd been. I asked one lady, a member of the governing board, whether his nomination hadn't been a mistake: she said, probably so, but nobody believed at the time that Ferguson was guilty (he was later

convicted). For teachers frightened at the prospect of community control, this wasn't reassuring.

Probably the most important event in the history of the growing bitterness between the UFT and critics of the school system was the strike at the beginning of the school year in 1967, when the decentralization experiments were just starting. The strike itself was over bargaining procedures, smaller classes and support for the MES program, and a union demand that teachers be allowed on their own to exclude unruly kids from classes. Late that fall, I spoke with parents from around IS 201. They weren't interested in the bargaining issue, they had heard of MES but weren't too impressed, and they were furious over the "disruptive child" demand. (As Mayer writes, ". . . this issue could be, and was, presented as racist, and, in part, no doubt it is – but the question is not simple.") They were angry that the union struck the demonstration districts, which, especially at Ocean Hill and IS 201, worked hard to keep schools open. It seemed to me that these were the feelings of many black parents, not an isolated few. The union had underestimated the symbolic importance decentralization was taking on; clearly it had made a bad mistake in not exempting the demonstration districts from its strike. (A union official told me there was talk of doing this, but nothing came of it.) The people at Ocean Hill had been outraged at a union request for some gesture of support for the strike: "Our first act of hope for a new era in education wasn't going to be cooperating with the UFT to shut the schools down," a governing board member said.

In the aftermath of the strike with its ensuing bitterness and occasional violence, the union withdrew the teacher representatives from the Ocean Hill governing board and joined with the Council of Supervisory Associations (the group representing principals and such) in a lawsuit to declare Ocean Hill's demonstration principals illegally appointed. (The union had in the past opposed the city's system of exams for supervisory positions; when Albert Shanker was asked why he had joined the lawsuit, Mayer reports, his answer was: "Pure pique.") It was in this period that Shanker attacked the Bundy Report on decentralization, charging that it was a cheap substitute for more money for ghetto schools, and that it would promote segregation. Other union people worried about the future of citywide bargaining and job security. These were serious points. It was also true that many teachers were simply frightened at the prospect of black community control. That was serious, too.

From the viewpoint of the Ocean Hill board this was all part of a direct attack on its existence. When the assistant principals transferred out in a body, it had no choice about replacements. In March a court declared its chosen principals illegal. Later this ruling was reversed, but it created immense chaos.

In the schools it was hard to say who was in charge; rumors of UFT "sabotage" spread with the unrest of students and militants. The situation was intolerable.

In the last week of March a fire broke out at IS 55, and everyone was forced out on the street. At 3 o'clock, quitting time, some teachers just turned over the keys to the children and left for the day. Back in the building, kids fought and coats were stolen. Nobody knew exactly how many teachers had left, but the incident was important. It led the parents of IS 55 and JH 271 to boycott the schools and demand power to hire and fire teachers. There was a great deal of pressure on the governing board to assert itself in the face of what was beginning to look like a total rout at the hands of the "system."

It is against this background, much of which Mayer outlines in his narrative, that the controversy over the dismissed teachers played itself out. My impression is that there were three shifting positions on the governing board about what to do. The first, reflecting its powerlessness and its weakening position, stressed the importance of getting recognition in principle of its status as a governing board, with the right to hire and fire teachers. The second put more emphasis on the importance to the survival of the project of getting rid of a substantial number of what were regarded as racist and incompetent teachers. (These categories sometimes included UFT "saboteurs," which in time came to mean almost any union representative.) The third position was one of caution: wait and see what the legislature would do with the decentralization proposals being discussed that spring. (The legislature more or less postponed deciding for a year.)

Waiting, as the chaos deepened, seemed pointless. Also, it seemed unlikely that the city Board would clarify the anomalous status of the project. So to many at Ocean Hill, it all boiled down to whether the city Board would permit the transfer of fairly large numbers of teachers out of the district. I think the Ocean Hill people knew that Superintendent Donovan had offered to make routine transfers; the trouble from their point of view was that he would only agree to transfer teachers out one by one, or, at most, a few at a time. They rejected this. The Rev. C. Herbert Oliver explains it this way:

"Donovan informed us that he could not act on a large group all at once and that we should present cases to him one or two at a time. Mayer pretends that McCoy failed to request the transfers when in reality our Board had met twice with the Board of Education. . . . We were never able to get them to see that we were talking about hundreds of teachers. Not being able to break this impasse, we felt that the Board of Education wanted us to go the long route to

correct the teacher problems, which to us meant a generation of litigation."

It is interesting to speculate what would have happened—how, for example, the UFT would have reacted—if Donovan had agreed to transfer out, say 200 teachers.

The lines of authority on involuntary transfers are vague in the New York system; as Mayer says, knowing how to transfer people out is one of the survival skills of a good administrator. It is clear—and Mayer makes much of the fact—that McCoy never asked in writing for routine transfer of the 19 people who were ultimately dismissed. He may have asked in so many words, but there is no record. One board member says that her impression was that he thought asking would be pointless, since the group was too large. Some of the board are said to have hoped that 110 Livingston St. would simply accept the dismissed teachers as they reported, and reassign them with no loss of pay or seniority. That could have been done, and it might have provided an informal solution.

But there was something very arbitrary about the choice of the 19: some were reckoned incompetent or vicious, but a few were said to be good, or at least competent. Two were UFT chapter chairmen, and they were picked partly because they were suspected of "sabotage," and partly because feelings were running high. Even today the Ocean Hill people I've talked to can't give a satisfactory account of why these particular people were selected. I explain it as a mixture of muddle, anger, and a desire for a showdown, some resolution of matters. (One member of the board said he was so gloomy at this point that he even thought seriously about turning back the schools to the city Board.)

It is possible to see the dismissals as routine transfers; if you squint at them, but on this issue I think the UFT had a point: the dismissals were arbitrary and punitive, they smacked of the public pillory, and, in any case, the UFT could be expected not to stand by and watch its chapter chairmen shipped out of disputed districts. When this specific point is granted, it must also be conceded that the board had been driven to make some arbitrary gesture. It had been thwarted, but it still saw the quality of teachers in the district as a central concern. Now it was pushing things, and to some extent violating due process, but at many points along the way, it would have been glad to discuss matters of job security and due process—this after all, would have amounted to a kind of recognition, which is what it was looking for all along. As McCoy says, there was an end to confidence and hope that the system would work, and thus it was decided—foolishly, I think, but understandably—to force an issue. The vehemence of the UFT's response—

as John Leo put it in *Commonweal*, the union turned a labor-management dispute into an ethnic vendetta—makes you wonder who was seeking a confrontation.

What is finally so upsetting about Mayer's account is the triviality of its explanations. In a sense there was a confrontation, but to insist on this is to say nothing about the enormous issues the New York school dispute raises. And the notion that the explanation for the trouble is a few militants plotting to make a splash in the world is much too dangerous an illusion to maintain. McCoy is a serious educator, and most of his board are basically moderate people; when pushed too far, they act badly. The question is, can the country accommodate them? Or will it rehearse the same scenes over and over again, proving to the powerless how powerless they are?

It is true that some teachers in slum schools are contemptuous, punitive, racist, or incompetent: they are a part of the reason why children aren't learning. (Mayer wrote about this last spring.) My own feeling is that most teachers would rather do a decent job, and are not happy when failing; that demoralizing purges are no answer; that both adults and children respond to settings. But what are poor, black, or Puerto Rican parents supposed to do about the teachers they sometimes get? It seems to me frivolous to dismiss the question, as Mayer does, by saying that most complaints about teachers are ill-founded. In a lot of schools, simply to restore confidence, we have to develop machinery to handle complaints and yet protect teachers. But in cities as polarized as New York after the strikes, you wonder if any machinery would be of any use.

This is an aspect of another serious question Mayer skims over, the professionalization of American life, and American education in particular, of which the rise of the UFT in New York is a good example. It has widened the distance between parents and schools—to a point, I would argue, where the quality of education is suffering. Against this dominant trend, there is the movement for community control. For the children of the white middle class the romance of participation is part of a worldwide movement against bureaucracy in the advanced technical countries. It is still hard to say whether it can be creative or not. But for the urban black poor in this country, the movement is much more specific: it is aimed at restoring accountability and making intolerable institutions responsive to the people they serve. This threatens the whole professional structure—it means clashes over jobs, race, and culture—but it is happening, and it is an open question whether it can be reconciled with American life as it is organized. At least a few teachers' unions—Washington, D.C. and Detroit, for example—are willing to start with the premise that there is nothing intrinsically incompatible between union rights and community schools.

Lore Segal: Passing Time

Nog

by Rudolph Wurlitzer

(Random House; \$4.95)

Rudolph Wurlitzer did not discover the vein in which he works. Time pointed him in its general direction and like a good writer he reinvented it in his own image.

Though the "new" novel is getting on in years the fight over it, in America at any rate, is younger. We can hardly see a book of this kind through the feathers flying in *The New York Times*, or discuss it on its merits until we have tidied up.

There is something puzzling about the passionate anger raised by this purely esthetic controversy, and by Wurlitzer's book, unless we see that the passion is not esthetic; at least it is not pure. If I get excited and say, Look at this beautiful X, and you look where I am pointing and you not only see nothing beautiful but see Nothing, you have to deduce that you are blind or that I am a charlatan. No wonder you are virulent in trying to prove there is no X. (If you happen to be a novelist yourself—that is the turn of the screw: will you be viewed by this new light, which you don't even see! Will you have to learn to look and to write all over again?) If it terrifies you not to see what I see it scares me to see what you don't, because what separates us is not opinion but perception: across that abyss we lose sight and sound of one another altogether and there is anxiety in my missionary zeal to show you the X.

What is new is, by definition, that which has not been isolated before and therefore has no name and is hard to think about. Where are all the familiar elements we used to hold on to? There are two ways of dealing with this situation: mine is to not want to be caught napping if X turns out to be a Good Thing. Yours is to not want to be caught out if it doesn't. I submit that my stance is no more foolish than yours and a deal more useful: it is no worse to be predisposed toward what is puzzling than to be set against

it, unless we assume that what is new is a mere fashion and what is familiar is the way things really are. It is embarrassing to spell it out again: the new is one way of putting it and the old another, with infinite possibilities pointing backwards and forwards.

Your position commits you to not seeing X, though it gives you the advantage of making an amazing lot of noise. My undertaking the defense forces me to refer back to what I'm quietly talking about until I am familiar with it and no longer remember what used to puzzle me. Now I really can tell if X is beautiful or if it is a hoax. My prejudice has made an honest woman out of me at last. Why are you still so angry?

But about Nog. Read it as a "how to" book: how to write the life of a character in a novel when you are minus assumptions about life and about novels. Remember the Saul Steinberg man who draws himself into existence, draws himself a chair to sit on and a table to draw at? Now imagine that the pencil he has drawn to draw himself with has an eraser at one end so that he can keep rubbing bits out and drawing them over.

Nog is to the "I" of the book what the "I" is to the writer—his invention. For our convenience we may even call this nameless protagonist "Nog." Some of the characters, some of the time, make the same identification, and that's true too, as the fool said to Lear. This is not the old still-born issue of the search for identity: if you are waiting to find out who Nog really is, you are waiting for tomorrow to arrive.

Imagine that we shared (without the reservation of a doubt) "Nog's" assumption that not only will tomorrow not arrive, but when it does it will be a dead ringer for yesterday and we will be the same person we are today. What would we do? Wouldn't we can-

cel the analyst and beauty parlor appointments; throw out our French grammar? And what would we do instead? Here's what we find "Nog" doing on page one: "I had been breathing in and out, out and in, calmly, grateful, for once, to do just that, staring at the waves plopping in . . ." when a girl walks by. "It was her feet actually; they seemed for a brief, painful moment to be elegant." And so he is catapulted into motion and keeps moving. "I took four more steps. Nothing happened. Nothing ever happens when I take four more steps. I took five fast steps and stopped. . . ." "One must be involved in gliding straight ahead," he says. Why must one? So as to keep that delicate balance between falling too far into life and falling out of it altogether. We have already seen the havoc wreaked by the pain of seeing the sudden beauty in a pair of feet when one is unprepared: "I don't want to look too suddenly at the sky." And it is dangerous too, to peek into the kitchen sink: "Is that where the anguish lies, caked near the stopper?" Or into the future, "I don't trust the dim hint of light at the end of the long tunnels, promises of events to come," and certainly not into the past "where memories threaten to become moldy . . . oozing hope and lies." In fact, don't look: "Your eyes will get used to the gloom: keep them half closed like you're peering down a gun barrel." On the last page he is still putting one foot before the other, down another "alleyway and gangplank. . . ."

"As for events, they come and go." So does food, sleep, persons. And girls. The cock rises and falls. There is a powerful nuttiness, something gallant and appealing about this picaresque anti-hero guarding himself against one nonadventure after another: he is not getting himself from place to place so much as getting

What's I. F. Stone Been Saying Lately?

Here are some headlines
from recent issues:

- A Goldwater to Head the
Pentagon
(special issue on Laird)
- The Need for Double Vi-
sion in the Middle East
- So What's a Little Isaiah
Between Friends?
- Why the Casualties Rise
as the Peace Talks Go On
- Who's Running Foreign
Policy—Nixon or Laird?
- Can Nixon Make the Hard
Choices?

You can still get any or all of
these issues free with a subscrip-
tion now. Only \$5 a year. Check off
the issues you'd like free and send
in the subscription blank below.

You're missing a treat if you
don't already subscribe to this in-
dependent and incisive bi-weekly
Washington newsletter, a unique
4-page publication packed with in-
sight, wit and information you
won't find elsewhere.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For an additional \$6.95 (spe-
cial price) you can get a copy
of Stone's **IN A TIME OF TOR-
MENT**. Just add \$6.95 and
check here

If you wish book or subscription
sent as a gift we will send gift card.

I. F. Stone's Weekly
5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20015
For the Independent Minded

through the time and the space in
which he finds himself.

Time: he keeps checking where it's
at. "It is morning. The sun took care
of that." He tests it for speed: "I
must be getting fast with myself . . .
(My mind has become blessedly slow-
er)." It is a matter of maneuvering
through it; "I swung my feet out
enough to face the sink. That was an
hour ago. I . . . stole into an alleyway.
I am crouched there now."

He is connoisseur of the subtle quali-
ties of space; there is "a friendly de-
tached space in front of a meat coun-
ter." And he knows its treacherous-
ness: "It is too overwhelming to climb
out of the back seat into an open
space or lack of space. You can never
be too careful. . . ." "I need a more
restful space I can strangle and tame
long enough to hang on to."

Hanging on is the trick: he keeps
checking his vital signs to find out
how he is and if and to what degree:
"I am not cold or warm. I might be
approaching both." "I am warm. Or I
was warm." And, "I stumbled to the
Pacific to be at a new edge of land. I
thought it would help my breathing."
He keeps looking for an excuse for

himself: "I need a direction, the hint
of a discernible habit, a movement of
some kind. A place to stand but at the
same time to appear busy. . . ."

The question (which renders precise-
ly the dilemma of the reader of the
"new" novel) is how to stand when
the floor has been pulled from under
your feet along with the rug. Wur-
litzer's answer is to invent something
to stand on: "I could invent another
room"; invent a temporary focus: "I
could manage a story. A story might
set a course"; and a bearable past:
"memories, if they intrude invent
them. Three is sufficient." And a per-
sonality: "Nog is not quite clear
enough. I have to invent more." "Nog
. . . is not cruel enough. I've known
that for the last few hours. He must
loosen up. He must become more per-
verse." Saul Steinberg's man uses his
pencil. Wurlitzer's protagonist makes
himself with words, inspects himself
for truth and beauty and finding him-
self inadequate, keeps forever working
away. When Wurlitzer writes "It is
the next word that matters" that is
literally what he means.

I liked this book so much I read it
anxiously in case it should disappoint

The Last Jack

The barber twirls my chair around
to give me a look at the back
of my own head, and I am confronted
with the mystery of a mirror
showing another mirror, and each
holding brightly at its center
my face and head in alternate
series, an infinite regression
backwards into the farthest reach
of my twofold appearance.

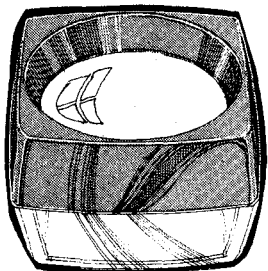
This series could populate a world
with face and back of head,
and with my smile, half mankind
might smile identically with me,
their god and skillful prompter.
*And who, I'll ask, is the last
Jack behind that astronomical highway
of identical faces?*

But the barber steals my question
out of my mouth, and says,
"Is that all right in back?"
And I understand he is intent
upon the other half who neither
smile nor frown, so I say fine.

JACK MATTHEWS



Haverhill's



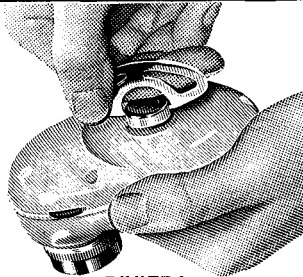
DESK MAGNIFIER

is a 4-power magnifier that covers a big area with excellent definition. Handy for reading maps, engineering designs, fine print, etc. Large aspherical lens. Clear plastic base provides abundant light. Great as a paperweight. 57mm lens. 3 1/4" x 3 1/4" x 2 1/2". **\$9.95**

emoskop
a complete
vestpocket
optical system



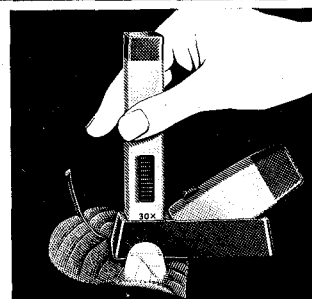
Remove the Emoskop from its fitted leather case and it's a 30x microscope. A twist of the wrist converts it into a 2.5x telescope. Another twist and you have your choice of magnifiers: 5, 10 & 15x. Perfect vestpocket companion for the exacting professional and scientist. 5 coated lenses, absolutely aplanatic and achromatic. **Modern Photography** calls the Emoskop "...only magnifier worthy of the name." 1 3/4" x 3/4". **\$14.95**



RIVIERA WIND-UP SHAVER

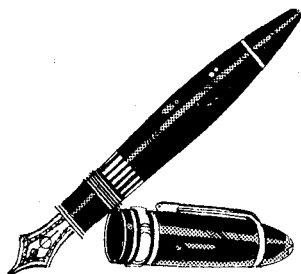
Frees you of batteries, water, electricity and other paraphernalia. Just a quick wind-up and you get a smooth, fast, comfortable shave anywhere, anytime. In vinyl case. Keep one in your glove compartment. **\$18.50**

Also available: Modele Anatomique with see-thru clear plastic body so you can watch the action. **\$19.95**



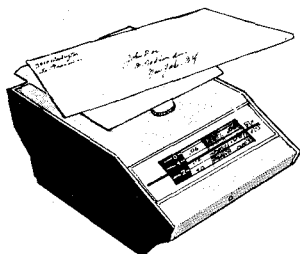
LUMISCOPE

is an illuminated 30x microscope of unusual quality and definition. Excellent lens system provides sharpness and crispness to very edge of the field. With Microscope, light source (which can be used separately as a flashlight) stand and batteries. In fitted case. **\$12.95**



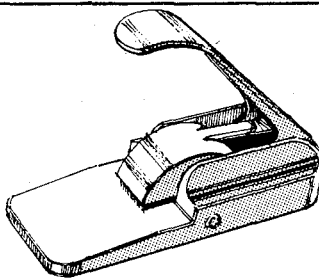
"DIPLOMAT" FOUNTAIN PEN

brings back memories of those man-sized fountain pens of the 30's that gave a feeling of importance to everything one wrote. Bring back the art of writing with this elegantly designed Montblanc pen. Comes with Lifetime Guarantee and 14k point—broad, medium or fine. (Please specify.) **\$33.00**



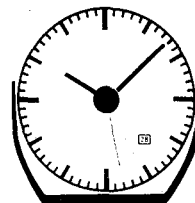
MAIL SCALE

is an attractive desk accessory for home or office that will weigh your letters and parcels (up to 1 lb.) with pin-point accuracy. Color-coded columns with red pointer. New charts always available to fit rotating drum, if postal rates change. Comes with postal regulation booklet. Black metal with walnut finish. **\$6**



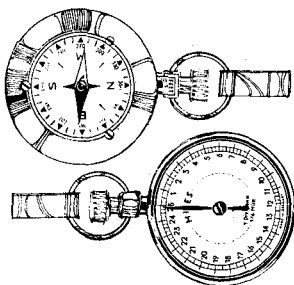
PAPER WELDER

Now staples and paper clips are passe. This helpful desk accessory crimps papers together neatly and crisply with a woven seam—all at the push of a lever. Never runs out or needs refills. If desired, papers can be separated without tearing. Keeps the bulk out of your file folders and can't foul copy machines. An executive essential and wonderful gift. **\$13.95**



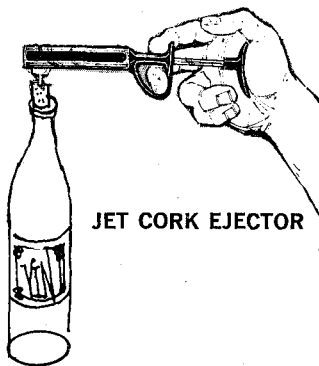
JUPIMATIC CORDLESS ELECTRONIC CALENDAR CLOCK

is the "ultra-modern" in a "conventional" clock. This elegant electronic timepiece is a fine accessory in home or office. Runs for over a year on one flashlight battery and is extremely accurate. Put it on your desk, hang it on the wall or ceiling, and tilt it to any angle that's best for viewing. Red sweep second hand and date window. 6" in diam. All white with black details, or vice versa. **\$24.95**



PEDOMETER

tells you exactly how far you've traveled during the day. You can calibrate it to your stride and read any distance directly (up to 25 miles). Great for walkers and joggers. A fine compass on the back makes it doubly useful. **\$8.95**



JET CORK EJECTOR

puts your corkscrew out of business and removes the most stubborn cork in seconds. Works on simple air pressure—no CO₂ cartridges to replace, and nothing to corrupt the taste of the most delicate wine. **\$4.95**

A FREE GIFT FOR YOU: our **POCKET TOOL KIT** (in shirt-pocket vinyl case) if your order (exclusive of post. & tax) is \$30 or more. **OUR GUARANTEE:** has no "ifs," "ands" or "buts." Simply return any item within 10 days if you are not delighted. All parts and workmanship are guaranteed one year.



**FREE
GIFT**

haverhill's

584 Washington St., San Francisco, 94111

(415) 981-5688

Quantity	Item	Amount

Calif. residents add 5% tax _____

Postage and Insurance **\$1.00**

My check for this Total is enclosed _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

☐ I am entitled to receive a FREE TOOL KIT.

TNR 0329

DISSENT

In the March/April issue:
NIXON'S DREAM—AND BLACK REALITY

Irving Howe

"The main goal of the Nixon Administration is the restoration of social order—social peace—in the United States. How this is to be achieved—by blunt oppression, meliorist legislation, or both—the Nixon people don't yet know. They are conservatives, not reactionaries; they respond to perceived situations, not ideological notions. They want the good life to continue for the American middle class; the U.S. to remain a major, if not world-dominating, power; and a decline in turmoil, violence, and protest."

DISSENT, 509 Fifth Ave.,
 New York, N.Y. 10017

Enclosed is \$1 for your March/April issue or \$6 for a full year's subscription.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____
 (please print) NR

"Excellent"*

A NEW FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES

Hans J. Morgenthau

With the intellectual daring that is his trademark, Dr. Morgenthau reappraises such basic issues as foreign aid, nuclear power, and intervention and proposes new directions for future U.S. foreign policy.

"Mr. Morgenthau makes a driving case, uncluttered by Poli. Sci. jargon. . . . His book condemns a whole genre of abstract gobbledygook on foreign policy."

—New York Times

"Impressive analysis. . . . An excellent, thoughtful discussion."

—*Book World

Published for the Council on Foreign Relations. \$6.95

FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, Publishers
 111 Fourth Ave. / New York 10003

me, and it does, in passing. Wurlitzer sometimes nudges me when I've already understood what he means, and he has a few ticks (like repeating in a general statement what he has just stated in the particular: "The stars are no help. The stars are never any help"). At worst he is willfully surprising: that octopus is too bulky a symbol; try as he will Nog cannot rid the book of it. More characteristic of Wurlitzer are the Cocteau-like themes, the sun, the stars, the Stetson hat, the black bag that used to be a doctor's, a tendency to make up lists (of beaches, mountains, ports, but not parks). These are capable of continual

variations and genuine surprises. Wurlitzer's writing is full of crazy, beautiful invention, and the kind of wit you can't lift off the page because it just barely raises itself out of the context and cocks a delicate snook at the sentence that went before.

You still don't see it? What we choose to perceive is a decision made in that region of ourselves where we come democrats or republicans, prefer Bach to Beethoven, a "plain dish" to "a ragout"—hardly on sober judgment. Our intuitions move in and we bring up our intellectual reserves (or our noisemakers) to defend the position and prove ourselves in the right.

Stanley Kauffmann: A Painful, Witty Oddity

My Father and Myself by J. R. Ackerley

(Coward-McCann; \$5.00)

J. R. Ackerley is not much known in this country and possibly never will be. It is a small loss but a real one. In Britain, although hardly famous, he has long been a connoisseurs' choice. (His admirers include E. M. Forster, Harold Nicolson, Elizabeth Bowen and Angus Wilson.) From 1935 until 1959 he was literary editor of *The Listener*, the BBC weekly (a very good review section, too). During his life he published only three books—a novel and two books of memoirs—and a play. He died in 1967, aged 71, leaving this posthumous volume of memoirs.

He was a very odd man. It tells little to say that he was an acknowledged homosexual. It tells a bit more to say that his homosexual activity diminished when he fell in love with a dog; and it tells something more to say that he used frankness about his sex and his canine infatuation as materials for literature. Two of his books, his novel and one memoir, are about his deep love for his Alsatian bitch, Tulip, and this posthumous book is dedicated to her. The quality of his feeling for her

—no ordinary man-and-dog palship—can be shown by one passage from the novel, *We Think the World of You*, in which he describes their life together:

"In the morning she would wake me by dabbing a paw in my face; sometimes I would be roused to find her lying with all her length upon me, her forearms on my shoulders, looking gaily into my eyes."

In this latest book he says:

"One of my friends, puzzled by the sudden change in my [homosexual] ways, asked me whether I had sexual intercourse with her. It may be counted as something on the profit side of my life that I could now receive such a question intelligently. I said no."

Given the oddity of the situation, that last fact may be the oddest of all.

Ackerley would be little more than a

psychopathic curiosity except for two connected matters: he wrote extremely well, and the quality of the writing creates a quality for the man. The same facts, told with equal frankness, would be much less interesting if recounted merely adequately or in mere clinical candor. With Ackerley, the reader keeps thinking: "But all this is true of a man who can write like this!" It makes Ackerley affecting, witty, and dignified. The taste and perception that are implicit in his style make us understand more than he actually tells us of how he felt about his oddities.

The most courageous literary act of his life, I think, was writing his play when he did—in the early 1920's. Ackerley had been wounded twice in the First War, captured by the Germans, then invalided to Switzerland in late 1917 where he was interned until the armistice. *The Prisoners of War* is about a group of British officers interned in Switzerland, and the hero, he says, is himself. (Including the epilepsy?) The plot is built on a discreetly handled but absolutely patent homosexual affair between the hero and another officer. Deprivation is not the argument; these men are quartered in a hotel and have access to women, so the hero is acting by choice, not in desperation. To write that play almost 50 years ago took some steel. (And it took similar steel for Nigel Playfair to produce it—in the West End—in 1925. It ran three weeks.)

Ackerley's first book *Hindoo Holiday* (1932) is about five months he spent in India with a charming, sexually congenial maharajah. I read it in the '30's, liked it, and, for obvious reasons, was reminded of it when E. M. Forster published *The Hill of Devi* in 1953. His next book was *My Dog Tulip* (1956), and his next was his novel on more or less the same subject (1960). Now this last book of his sparse career is an attempt to understand his father's character, their relation, and, through this, to reach some better understanding of himself.

Ackerley senior was an odd man, too—one of the many Victorians who lived wildly unconventional lives in that reputedly staid age. The writer was his second son, born in 1896, but the father and mother did not marry until 1919, although they had been living as man and wife for some time. After the father's death in 1929, it was discovered that he had had another mistress and three daughters.

Further, as a young guardsman and immediately after, the father had almost certainly been the consort of two wealthy older men. In fact, the writer spends some time trying to *prove* that his father had been homosexual when young. (Life simply will not stop making crude jokes. Ackerley père eventually went into the fruit business and became known as the Banana King.)

Father and son liked each other very much. Although the father was what the English call "hearty," he understood the son's literary ambitions, offered without prompting to support him, and read the son's play with admiration. A most unusual man. Ackerley says he wrote this book because he never took sufficient advantage of his father's understanding and sympathy. He seems almost to be telling this story to his father, in belated hope of a couple of ribald stories in return, a fiver, and some cheer.

After the war and after Cambridge, Ackerley came to London and tried to be a writer—novels and verse dramas, etc. We can now see quickly what it took him time to discover: he had no creative imagination; he had only style and powers of perception, so could write only about what he saw and what actually happened to him. But that he could do with Edwardian precision and wit, in which sentences click neatly to their end like well played three-cushion billiard shots. Speaking of two aunts:

"Over six feet in height, gaunt and flat-chested, with harsh voices and large hands and feet, Emily and Sally could easily have masqueraded in the clothes of their youngest brother, my Uncle Denton, without the imposture being detected or their prospects in life improved."

The main drift of the book is not drily humorous reminiscence: it is an attempt at self-knowledge, with his father as the ground. He clearly admires, without jealousy, his father's social ease, which he seems not to have achieved. He never considers himself "fallen" in the slightest; the only pathos he expresses is that he never knew love until Tulip came along. He had been a haunter of homosexual pubs and promenades before that, even picking up guardsmen (as his father had probably been picked up). Tulip modified all that by loving him.

ELECTRIC WASTEBASKET



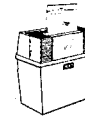
THE OFFICE PAPER SHREDDER
destroyit

1. Shreds your papers and makes them unreadable.

2. Silent, automatic, starts when you insert paper: stops by itself.

Avoid losses! Make sure that what you throw away is really destroyed.

ELECTRIC WASTEBASKET CORP.
145 West 45th Street, New York, 10036



For fast information
about the **destroyit**
Electric Wastebasket
and volume office
paper shredders... NR-3

Name.....

Address.....

Selected Dealers all over U.S., Canada, L. Amer.

DISSENT

**In the March/April issue:
TOWARD PEACE AT PARIS?**

Joseph Buttinger

"The 'understanding' of October 31 has undoubtedly improved the prospects for peace in Vietnam; but how long the new talks will last and what their final outcome will be, no one can predict. This much, however, is certain: *Only if Washington is ready*, and, if necessary, hasten the disappearance of the Thieu-Ky government, can we hope for decisive progress toward a negotiated settlement of the war. Otherwise peace for Vietnam will still be as remote after another eight months of negotiations as it was when the Paris talks began."

**DISSENT, 509 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N.Y. 10017**

Enclosed is \$1 for your March/April issue or \$6 for a full year's subscription.

Name.....

Street.....

City..... State..... Zip.....
(please print) NR

What does it mean to be *Black in America?*

From race hatred among children to the enraged response to Styron's "Nat Turner," Beacon books probe and record. For a free brochure describing books for and about Black America, write to Box 52,

Beacon Press Boston, Mass. 02108

DISSENT

In the March/April issue:

TEACHING NEGRO HISTORY

Henry Pachter

"'Black History' can be studied independently; but fully to understand it, we must see it as part of American history. Black people are neither entirely passive in the stream of that history, nor are they isolated from it or connected with it merely through resistance. Black history is deeply enmeshed with the history of the country; it is a country which black people (however much against their will) will have helped build and to whose resources they have an equal claim. Even their resistance movements have at various times contributed to the shaping of American character."

DISSENT, 509 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N.Y. 10017

Enclosed is \$1 for your March/April issue or \$6 for a full year's subscription.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____
(please print) NR

"WHEN ONE SEES how pervasive negations are in the American culture one perceives the true meaning of 'trust no one over 30.' Perhaps an imprisoned dean will provide some definition, some resistance. Alas, there is only emptiness: the permissive smile. The tolerant liberal culture defines itself as 'open' — that is, value-less. The student understands the pun: the liberal culture is worthless."

For a free copy of
Wm. F. Buckley's
NATIONAL RE-
VIEW, write: Dept.
D, 150 E. 35 Street,
N. Y. 10016.

And, quite unlike his father, he ended his life, as he says, with alcohol and animals.

Pity is neither sought nor forthcoming. His coolness deliberately prevents it — such passages as his technical objections to fellatio or the remark that "two or three hundred young men were to pass through my hands in the course of years." (What heterosexual male, however profligate, would have made that remark about girls?) The book can almost be exemplified in one sentence: "For a long time I disliked the smell of semen, unless it was my own." It is shocking; funny; extremely informative though quite compact; poised; and somehow very English. It

is Ackerley's autobiography in little.

His style is his preservative and preserver. His jokes are both self-mockery and a mockery of the world for making mockery necessary. ("... This superficial sketch of myself may be of value when I lie under another sort of sod.") The psychoanalysts of print can easily move in on him — his father arrived late in his life, most of his childhood was spent amongst women, and so forth. But the analysis cannot affect his literary quality. Minor literature, certainly, but any higher stature might have upset him. He was born to be rejected, in considerable measure, and to have the lonely last laugh by writing well about it.

Kenneth E. Boulding: Tragic Nonsense

An Essay on Liberation by Herbert Marcuse

(Beacon Press; \$5.95, paperback; \$1.95)

It is hard to review with justice a book with which one is completely unsympathetic. Furthermore, what this ninety-page essay requires is mercy rather than justice, and I am not sure that I can provide even that. Herbert Marcuse has a reputation of being a somewhat fallen idol of the New Left, who seem at this time to be moving towards a more hard-line Marxism and away from the more gentle, humane, revisionist, "unitarian" Marxism which Marcuse represents.

One could almost interpret this volume as a sad little monument to a loss of faith. At one time, I imagine, Marcuse was a real Marxist. The horrors of Stalinism, Maoism, and even what he calls the "gray on gray" of the Eastern European socialist countries, have battered his true faith into a queer shapeless mass, which represents little more than a vague aspiration toward a more utopian sensibility in man. It would be easy to make fun of Marcuse's "liberation," for it seems to be liberation from soap, from fathers,

from work, from the beastly world of productivity and exchange; and indeed it is hard to avoid visualizing Marcusean man as the remittance man of the cartoons, lounging away his life in idle fantasies on a Tahitian beach.

Even if Marcuse's utopia were more attractive than others, he seems to have no way of getting there. Revolution is hopeless, the working class is entirely corrupted by middle class standards and all he seems to have to fall back on is student revolt, the hippies and something called biological solidarity, with "bodies unsoiled by plastic cleanliness." One fears that the biological solidarity lies mainly in the sense of smell.

The depressing thing about nonsense is that it remains nonsense no matter how well dressed in utopian fantasies and German philosophical circumlocutions. I am afraid my verdict on this essay is that it is nonsense, not even attractive nonsense like the "Yellow Submarine." The "great refusal" which

POSTERS OF THE PAST

Rare American posters reproduced exactly. New look for home, office, den, school. Exceptional values.

K1—TELEPHONE HANDBILL—"Prof. Bell speaks and sings"—1877 exhibition of telephone, rare... 25c
 K2—CONFEDERATE SHEET MUSIC—Gen. Morgan Grand March, Richmond, 1864, 4 pages, illustrated... 50c
 K4—LINCOLN CAMPAIGN POSTER—in vivid color; pictures of Lincoln and Johnson, rarity; colorful... 85c
 K5—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—1st Regt.—bounties—illustrations 17 x 11 limited... 50c
 K6—NEGRO SLAVE SALE NOTICE—description, each slave, New Orleans 1835... 50c
 K7—JESSE JAMES; full length poster; James, horse, reward notice; 19 x 14... 75c
 K8—CIVIL WAR ARMY DISCHARGE—signed by Lincoln and Stanton, illustrated; form of large diploma; volunteers that helped Sherman; most unusual... \$1
 K9—FASHION POSTER; 60 illustrations; 1896 fantastic styles; ladies clothes... 22 x 16... 75c
 K11—FORD'S AUTO POSTER—early illustrations, prices... 50c
 P1—REVOLUTIONARY WAR RECRUITING POSTER, Call to arms by Geo. Washington, illustrated... 50c
 P2—OLD CALIFORNIA TRAVEL POSTER; stagecoach, illustrated, fares, destination, unique... 50c
 P3—MURDERER OF LINCOLN—\$100,000 REWARD 50c
 P4—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING; Calvary "not to be sent at once into field"... 25c
 P5—TRAVEL POSTER; Steamboat to gold mines of WEST; illustration... 22½ x 10½... 50c
 P7—NECK-TIE PARTY. Lists bad men at Las Vegas, 1881... 50c
 P8—TEXAS POSTERS; one 1867 seeks horse thief; one 1853 for murderer; both... 60c
 P9—U.S. REWARD POSTER; Sam and Belle Starr, dead or alive, unique. Federal Gov't. want... 25c
 P10—DALTON GANG REWARD POSTER—Bob, Emmet, Grat Dalton... 25c
 P11—JESSE JAMES REWARD POSTER—picture Jesse... 25c
 P12—CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY, NAVY UNIFORMS, 12 prints, 37 different uniforms, the rare official 1861 set of 12 prints... \$1
 P15—CALIF. BLACK BART POSTERS: Bart left poems at Stagecoach hold-ups. Poster with poems 17 x 11... set of 3 posters... 75c
 P33—PLAYBILL—SAN FRANCISCO MINSTRELS... 35c
 P35—PLAYBILL—ROMEO and JULIET, 1767, N.Y. 35c
 P36—LINCOLN READING BIBLE TO HIS SON; 1865 25c
 P37—GUN PRINTS; Set of 5 prints... 50c
 P38—JESUS, portrait formed out of Scripture writing; Unusual oddity... 25c
 P39—BARNUM CIRCUS; illustrated program, 1876, scarce 25½ x 5... 50c
 P40—PLAYBILL, NIGHT LINCOLN SHOT, FORD THEATRE, Apr. 4, 1865, the show Lincoln was watching when he was shot, historical and scarce... 50c
 P41—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER, appeal for Sharpshooters, 17 x 12, rare... 60c
 P42—REGIMENTAL ORDERS—illustrated; old, Col. Sam Colt, 23 x 12... 25c
 D1—PHYSICIANS HANDBILL 1855; treats Cancer, many claims... 25c
 D2—EMMENAGOGUE HANDBILL—Full of claims, quaint, illustrated... 25c
 D3—PAPILLARY OIL. Cures sore nipples 5 days; testimonials, 1845... 25c
 D4—HOME DENTAL OUTFIT—"Fill teeth yourself" with kit—1890 ad... 20c
 R1—BRITISH RECRUITING POSTER—American REVOLUTION—offers "50 acres where gallant hero may retire and enjoy his bottle and lass." Unusual, historical, Rare... 65c
 R3—PENN. PROCLAMATION—1681 by King Charles—sets up colony "PENNSYLVANIA" orders obedience to Wm. Penn. Printed in England; 20 x 14, a state is born, rare... \$1
 R4—AMERICAN REVOLUTION ALERT—1776, warns Gen. Howe approaches, etc. 20 x 12, rare... 35c
 R5—AMERICAN REVOLUTION—1781—CORNWALLIS surrendered, orders orderly celebration—His Excellency Gen. Washington... 20 x 12... 40c
 R6—AMERICAN REV PLAYBILL—British Soldiers 50c
 R7—AMERICAN REVOLUTION PLAYBILL—"Woman Keeps Secret"... 40c
 R8—AMERICAN REVOLUTION PLAYBILL—plus actual ticket very rare—soldier actors... 75c
 R9—MEMBERSHIP signed by Washington and Knox—ornate illustrated certificate. Society of Cincinnati, officers only of AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Cincinnati Ohio named for this society—"military mobility" opposed by Tammy, rare 20 x 14... \$1
 R26—CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS PLAYING CARDS—primitive folk art illustrations of Conf. soldiers, used in Army, very rare, set of 35 for... \$1
 R27—CIVIL WAR PATENT MEDICINE LABEL—dis-eases of camp life... 10c
 R28—VICTORY NEWS BROADSIDE—REBELS FLEEING—Apr. 1865... 35c

R29—SLAVE SALE POSTER—descriptions—19 x 12½... 50c
 R30—SLAVE SALE POSTER—25 Negroes described 40c
 R32—LINCOLN ELECTION POSTER—19 x 11—believe it or not, speech by V. Pres. Stephens, Confederacy—boomerang—N.Y. printed—interesting, unknown... 50c
 C1—PLAYBILL—1st Gilbert & Sullivan Amer. performance 1879, Pirates Penzance, rare... 35c
 C2—HORSE MATING POSTER, picture, description, fees, unique... 25c
 C3—LINCOLN LIQUOR LICENSE, 1833, Salem, Tavern, liquor food prices, Lincoln's handwriting illustrations, large size, rare... 60c
 C4—N.Y. STAGECOACH POSTER, horses, coachillus. 40c
 C5—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—Brooklyn... 40c
 C6—AMER. REVOLUTION RECRUITING POSTER—1777—Phila.—English want sailors... 35c
 C7—AMER. REVOLUTION PROCLAMATION—Phila.—Howe orders 8 P.M. curfew... 25c
 C8—AMER. REVOLUTION RECRUITING POSTER—Phila.—English want "Rangers" 14 x 13... 40c
 C9—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING for home guard... 25c
 C10—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER—orders accept Continental money; help with fires; help build fortifications—1776—24x19—rare American orders \$1
 C11—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER—Chimney sweeps... 25c
 C12—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER—Howe tells Americans cannot buy certain foods; need permit for medicine; 18 x 14—unusual, rare... 50c
 C14—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER... 15 x 14—Hempstead, N.Y.—unusual appeal... 35c
 C16—JACKSON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HANDBILL, illustrated... 40c
 C17—SLAVE AUCTION—1859 N. C. "owner to reside in NORTH"... 35c
 C19—TAYLOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HANDBILL, ballad... 25c
 C20—RUNAWAY SLAVE POSTER—Reward, 1853... 25c
 C23—THEATRICAL POSTER, Joe Jefferson... 25c
 C25—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—tells Washington attack anticipated, Eagle illus... 35c
 C27—1870—MENU with prices, steak 15c... 10c
 C28—MEDICAL BROADSIDE—1st medical announcement in America 1877—symptoms, remedies—quaint, rare... 17 x 11... \$1
 C29—PONY EXPRESS POSTER—illustrated, rates... 35c
 C30—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—TEXAS 1861—rare... 40c
 C31—TEXAS PROCLAMATION—1861—"SHOULD TEXAS SECEDE?"... 40c
 C32—WELLS-FARGO RECEIPT FOR GOLD—unusual... 15c
 C33—ELECTION POSTER—HARRISON presidential, 1840, cider, log cabin... 35c
 C34—AMER. REVOLUTION NOTICE—"Cornwallis Retreating"... 10c
 C35—REWARD POSTER Pinkerton for Perry "nerviest train robber"... 25c
 C36—VIGILANCE POSTER list of bad-men—1868... 30c
 C37—ADAMS EXPRESS POSTER, "ship gold"... 30c
 C38—BUFFALO BILL WILD WEST SHOW, illustrated... 30c
 C39—RAILROAD POSTER—Wells-Fargo Coach... 25c
 C40—BATHING SUITS—1885—seashore styles... 25c
 C41—AUTOMOBILE CLOTHING WORN in 1900—3 illustrated ads... 25c
 C42—CALAMITY JANE POSTER—exhibition... 20c
 C43—REWARD POSTER—train robbers, murderers... 25c
 C44—ANNIE OAKLEY EXHIBITION POSTER—her picture, rifle, medals... 35c
 C45—REWARD POSTER—r. r. train robbers, loot... 25c
 C46—REWARD POSTER—Doolin, Dalton rob train... 25c
 C47—REWARD POSTER—Robber killed engineer... 25c
 C48—REWARD POSTER—Tom Nixon, notorious Union Pacific R.R. robber... 25c
 C49—BUFFALO BILL POSTER—11 illustrations, Indians, Badmen, a la TV... 35c
 C50—INDIAN SQUAW POSTER—in full regalia... 20c
 C51—PONY EXPRESS POST MARKS, details enlarged, flying pony... 20c
 C52—SHOWBOAT HANDBILL—4 illustrated pages of exciting entertainment that floated into riverbank towns, important Americana... 75c
 C73—CIVIL WAR NEWS POSTER—1861—"Fort Sumter Surrenders"—full account... 35c
 C74—REWARD POSTER by Governor of Mo. for Jesse or Frank James or any of their gang... train was robbed, conductor killed, 1881... very scarce item... 25c
 C75—APPEAL TO INDIANS—1681 by Wm. Penn... 25c
 C76—PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN HANDBILL—1880—Democrats—illustrated—imitates showboat poster and is humorous... rare... 20c
 C77—CIVIL WAR CARTOON POSTER—Cavalry chases Jeff Davis, disguised as milkmaid. Laugh no matter what side you favor, 20 x 14... 35c

SP300—ASSASSINATION: Pres. Kennedy, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, 8 different front pages day of their assassination, fully illustrated. Each page 23 x 16. Complete set of 8 only... \$1.25
 SP95—PROTESTANT REFORMATION; 95 theses Martin Luther nailed on church door in 1517. English translation; 17 x 10... \$1.25
 607—PHONOGRAPH, 4 pages sheet music, 1878, illustrated, early, scarce... 95c
 608—AUTO HANDBILL—1911—ELMORE—illustrated... 25c
 609—TOBACCO HABIT CURE POSTER—1880—illustrated... 30c
 610—STAGE POSTER—DR. JEKYLL, MR. HYDE, character studies, in color, 17 x 11... \$1.25
 611—MOVIE POSTER—Lon Chaney—1925—black & white... 95c
 612—REWARD POSTER—Amherst—1809—penalties... 35c
 614—REWARD POSTER for Apprentice 1824—apprentice later Pres. A. Johnson, rare... 35c
 615—SLAVE SALE—handwritten bill sale, 1824 poorly legible... 25c
 616—PILOT LICENSE—MARK TWAIN—1858... 35c
 617—SLAVE or FREE 1832 cartoon... 35c
 618—RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 1917 POSTER, translation... 35c
 619—BALLAD—Light Brigade, Crimean War—1854... 30c
 620—ANTI-VACCINATION POSTER, smallpox, 1802, funny... 35c
 621—FOOTBALL POSTER, 1580, Italy, illustrated... 50c
 622—BUS propelled by steam, 1833, illustrated... 40c
 623—SLAVE SHIP PLAN, no space between slaves... 75c
 624—SLAVE AUCTION—1829—descriptions... 75c
 625—SHAKESPEARE 1623 engraving—rare... 80c
 626—ANTI-EVOLUTION THEORY—1863 cartoon, funny... 30c
 627—SLAVERY attitudes, 1830 cartoon... 30c
 628—SLAVE CHAINS, DEVICES used on colored... 35c
 629—STOCK CERTIFICATE, Gold Mining, Calif. 1864... 30c
 630—SLAVERY opposition 1797 cartoon... 35c
 631—SHAKESPEARE 1577 page, illustrations, Macbeth source... 35c
 632—HORSE MATING POSTER—1855—Morrill horse... 35c
 633—SLAVES POSTER—1852—offers to buy... 35c
 634—J. F. KENNEDY—Harvard Yearbook 1940... 35c
 635—ANTI-SUFFRAGE POSTER... 25c
 636—WIRE BUSTLE DRESS, illustrated, 1886... 35c
 638—WORLD WAR 2 POSTER—Remove Japanese from Calif... 25c
 639—HAIR STYLE—shape of ship, 1776—fantastic... 25c
 640—LINCOLN ASSASSINATION—S.C. Army order... 30c
 641—MENU—1840—N.Y.—prices... 30c
 642—AUTO HANDBILL—WINTON, illustrated... 30c
 643—BEARDSLEY—early poster drawing... 20c
 644—WELLS-FARGO POSTER—stage robbery... 25c
 645—HORSE HARNESS CATALOG—1862, illustrated... 60c
 646—CARRIAGES & BUGGIES CATALOG, 1880, illustrated... 60c
 647—PLAYBILL, 1905, Sherlock Holmes... 30c
 648—CAMPAIGN—Jackson as king... 45c
 649—ATLANTIC CHARTER 1941... 25c
 650—MRS. BLOOMER WOODCUT in apparel she named... 35c
 651—APPEAL TO REPUBLICANS—1867—very rare... 35c
 652—DANCE POSTER—N.Y. Theatre—1827... 35c
 653—MASS. BAY CHARTER—1628—rare... \$1.50
 654—R. R. STOCK CERTIFICATE—early 1800's, scarce... 25c
 655—CLEAN YOUR PRIVY POSTER—1799—signed, Paul Revere... 35c
 656—BALLOT—more than 400 candidates, oddity... 45c
 660—PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN POSTER—Cleveland... 95c
 662—PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN POSTER—Harding... \$1.00
 663—PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN POSTER—Kennedy—illustrated... 90c
 667—TAVERN RULES—early America... 40c
 668—BILL OF FARE—early American... 65c

ANTIQUER AMERICAN AUTOMOBILES; Portfolio of 10 different automobiles, illustrated. Posters, Handbills, Advertisements, each one 11½ x 8... \$1.98
 We now have ready Portfolio #1 and Portfolio #2. Each Portfolio has a set of 10 different reproductions. Each Portfolio is \$1.98 or both for only \$3.50

Minimum order, \$2. Add 25c for mailing tube. 25c for catalog listing over 500 posters.

PIONEER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DEPT. NR

HARRIMAN, TENN. 37748

La Bisquera
...ESCLUSIVO—
FROM ITALY!
makes top round
taste like
T-bone!



BROILS BIG STEAK FOR TWO!

**Delizioso new way to
pan broil and tenderize**
without fat, grease, water or softeners

La Bisquera, crafted by a patented process, of porous earthenware that draws off fat and bitter acids, while keeping meat, fish and poultry moist and succulent, simmering in their own natural juices. No condiments, no basting needed!

USE LA BISQUERA on top of any range—forget the oven. Broils fast over medium heat—never shrinks meat. Cleans easily. Order today—you'll lick your chops (and everything else you broil) or your money refunded!

LA BISQUERA—Complete with Simple Instructions and FREE: Continental Recipes—Only \$9.95 (plus 75c postage and handling)

Prompt Shipment. Satisfaction Guaranteed.
Send check or money order—no C.O.D.'s
Send for FREE gourmet catalog.

MAISON MICHEL, Ltd.
Dept. NR-39, Michel Bldg., New Hyde Park, N. Y. 11040
GOOD NEWS FOR GOURMETS

Ariel Films
16mm FILM PROGRAMMING SERVICE
Most foreign & American films available,
with film notes & publicity material. Write
for our free brochure today, tell us your
needs, we're here to help with films or
lecturers for any purpose.
Bragin Communications/ NR
645 West End Ave./New York 10025

DISSENT

In the March/April issue:
ON MODERN TYRANNY
(A critique of Western Intellectuals)
Nicola Chiaramonte

"... just because it is a question of freedom, the freedom he thinks he owns as if it were a piece of furniture—the Western intellectual, faced by the movement of protest in the countries of Eastern Europe, believes he is watching something already well-known and so not really significant. Hence the widespread general idea that the ferment for freedom which is shaking these countries, although it merits our sympathy, does not at bottom concern us, since it is a matter of gaining a social benefit which we already enjoy... indeed, among us, by dint of using it, is already worn-out and cheapened. We need something else; stronger medicines, one would say. Or drugs. Or systematic violence."

**DISSENT, 509 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N.Y. 10017**

Enclosed is \$1 for your March/April issue or \$6 for a full year's subscription.

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
(please print) NR

Marcuse talks about in the rebelling young is, one fears, almost identical with the great refusal of Peter Pan. The class war of youth against age, which is perhaps the only class war that is real, must remain eternally inconclusive, for if youth ever wins, it will by that time be old and will regret its victory. Perhaps Marcuse's

nonsense is distressing because it is tragic, and nonsense should always be comic. It is the tragedy of a man betrayed by his own sensitivity and humanity into a failure to see the complexity of the social path by which these virtues are actually achieved, and advocating the shortcuts that lead to disaster.

Stanley Moss: Joy out of Terror

Shall We Gather at the River by James Wright

(Wesleyan University Press; \$4.00, paper \$2.00)

James Wright has written a book of great passion. In an age when the President's English (the language of evasion) and business English (the language of selling) are becoming standard in our public and private discussion, poetry has become the hot line on which our generation says what is necessary to its survival. Wright gives speech to dumb, horrible human suffering. In an essay on Neruda published a few months ago, Wright wrote, "I want poetry to make me happy, but the poetry I want should deal with the hell of our lives or else it leaves me cold." This is a book rooted in the dumping grounds of American life: barren steel towns, the slums of Minneapolis, the drunk tank, the home for senior citizens, the graves of the forgotten dead. Even Wright's birds are cast down by nature.

How can such a book make us happy? Wright makes poetry of materials the world leaves for dead, defiles or throws out. We can find joy in these poems, experiencing what used to be called a sacred mystery. The fact is, Wright's poetry—unpretentiously, unavoidably—flashes a light into the unknown universe and on the unknowable itself.

LIFTING ILLEGAL NETS BY
FLASHLIGHT
The carp are secrets

Of the creation: I do not
Know if they are lonely.
The poachers drift with an almost
frightening
Care under the bridge.
Water is a luminous
Mirror of swallows' nests. The
stars
Have come down.
What does my anguish
Matter? Something
The color
Of a Puma has plunged through
this net, and is gone.
This is the firmest
Net I ever saw, and yet something
Is gone lonely
Into the headwaters of the
Minnesota.

James Wright has written a dark book—but stay with it a while. After we read the poems over and over, beauty purges out the terror, just as in the painting of Bosch; we do not pity a man crucified upon a harp:

I have gone forward with
Some, a few lonely some.
They have fallen to death.
I die with them.
Lord, I have loved thy cursed,
The beauty of thy house:
Come down. Come down. Why dost
Thou hide thy face?

Wright was schooled by Theodore Roethke at the University of Washington, and by the poetry of Stanley Kunitz that Roethke taught. He extended his range, made his language more precise, by his reading and translation of such diverse poets as the Austrian Trakl; the Peruvian, Vallejo; and Neruda. He has brought the sense of Spanish poetry into American poetry more effectively than any one before him. Wright began as a formal poet, and still is when he chooses. In the middle volumes, I believe under the persuasion of Robert Bly, his language moved toward direct American speech. In this book his directness becomes more lyrical. No poet of his generation has written poems that move me more.

The two poems in this book written out of the most intense terror are, I think, "Inscription for the Tank" and "In Terror of Hospital Bills." The first gives speech to suffering in the drunk tank, the second to a state of lost identity. In living hell the poet confronts total oblivion. The poem, the very writing of the poem, brings the poet back to dignity, back to life, with the line "My life is never so close to me as now." This line is repeated in both poems. The poems become prayers to life, which is itself the cure. The first poem ends:

Let the dead pray for their dead.
What is their pity to me?

The second poem closes like this:

But my life was never so precious
To me as now.
I will have to beg coins
After dark.

I will learn to scent the police,
And sit or go blind, stay mute, be
taken for dead
For your sake, oh my secret
My life.

Fear is ever present. Wright's voice

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

LORE SEGAL is the author of *Other People's Houses*. KENNETH E. BOULDING is professor of economics at the University of Colorado. STANLEY MOSS is poetry editor of *New American Review*.

Bernard Fall didn't live to write about the Paris peace negotiations. But his new book helps us understand them.



Discovered in his files after his tragic death in Vietnam, Bernard Fall's minute-by-minute, hour-by-hour account of the Laos crisis of 1960-61 is marked by his customary brilliance and perception. Perhaps more importantly, his day-by-day analysis of the crisis which led to the Geneva Conference, Coalition Government, and International Control Commission, makes *ANATOMY OF A CRISIS* necessary reading for anyone who seeks to understand what's happening in Paris today—and what's likely to happen there tomorrow.

Bernard B. Fall ANATOMY OF A CRISIS

\$5.95 at all booksellers

DOUBLEDAY

DISSENT

Also in the March/April issue:

HOMAGE TO NORMAN THOMAS
(A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and Michael Harrington)

STUDENT VIOLENCE AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Günter Grass

NUREMBERG LAW AND U.S. COURTS
Beverly Woodward

STYRON AND HIS BLACK CRITICS
Jervis Anderson

CONFRONTATION AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE
Ralph M. Goldman

THE HIPPIES: PERMANENT REVOLUTION?
Gerald Dworkin

Plus book reviews, letters etc.

DISSENT, 509 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N.Y. 10017

Enclosed is \$1 for your March/April issue or \$6 for a full year's subscription.

Name _____
Street _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
(please print) NR

How we made way for
Hitler and WW II

American Appeasement

United States
Foreign Policy
and Germany
1933-1938

Arnold Offner

In our desire to reintegrate Germany into the European mainstream during the years of the Weimar Republic, we failed to perceive the aggressive design of Germany's policy which the rise of Hitler and his National Socialists presaged. This comprehensive study—which cannot fail to fascinate history and world affairs readers—is based on an unusually wide variety of sources and is the only detailed treatment of America's role in the appeasement—over-appeasement in many instances—of Germany and the events that ultimately culminated in the Second World War. *Belknap Press* \$10.00

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

You're Black?

Illuminate your personal quest for identity.

You're White?

Illuminate your essential quest for understanding.

For **FREE** brochure describing Beacon books concerning black identity, write to Box 51,

Beacon Press

25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02108

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS

255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, Calif. 91105

AUTHORS OF BOOKS

Manuscripts invited for our consideration. All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors welcome. Complete book publishing services since 1920.

Send for free brochure H-52. ►

DORRANCE & COMPANY, INC.

1809 Callowhill St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19130



progress merkur
(ask a European!)

This superb, technically perfect solid brass Safety Razor is the finest shaving instrument in the world. The Micro-Dial mechanism, the heart of this remarkable new razor, adjusts to just the right shave for your beard. Accepts standard double-edge blades which remain rigidly in place and in perfect alignment. The sculptured stem is meticulously balanced for a Lifetime of flawless shaving. A splendid, functional razor... favourite of professional men here and abroad. **Progress Merkur is guaranteed the best razor you've ever owned, or your money back!**

#500 Chrome Veneer \$6.00 2 for \$11.50

#510 Silver Veneer \$6.95 2 for \$13.50

#520 Gold Veneer \$8.50 2 for \$16.00

please add 35¢ post per order.

Name _____ 4
Address _____

_____ Zip _____

style _____ quant. _____ check encl. ☐

chg. Diners acc't _____

J.D. BROWNE 900 North Point
(Chirardelli Square) San Francisco, California 94109

reaches out to us. He speaks very precisely — almost clearer than he must, a little louder than he must, as if his reader needs that extra attention. The poems are written out of necessity; they contain nothing but poetry, no structured philosophy, no program, no "ideas." He is almost totally vulnerable.

In the world he loves but can hardly bear, his job is to transform the materials of death into life. He does so by entering deeper and deeper into himself. At times, rather than identifying an object he tries to become one with it; he wishes it would incorporate him, not just as he is, but as he would be.

Here he contemplates the natural world:

The earth is hard now,
The soles of my shoes need repairs,
I have nothing to ask a blessing for,
Except these words.
I wish they were
Grass.

The lines above close the poem that began:

Today I am walking alone in a
bare place
And winter is here.

Wright tries to console the earth itself.

His poetry is obsessed by certain words he husks for their mythic meanings; "river," the Ohio River appears again and again, becomes the holy river of the dead, the American Styx. "Poor" is used to mean just plain poor, but he also makes it mean the dead in life, and the dead. Wright's concern for the poor is more convincing than that of any poet we have. In the marrow of his poems is a spiritual commitment to the steel and glass workers of Martin's Ferry, Ohio, his birthplace. Others have been outraged by America's human slag heap; Wright has found his secret feelings about America.

James Wright is a major American poet. He is a Russian, a Chinese, a Spaniard, a Viennese, a Sioux. No poet of his generation has his humanity. None speaks more honestly.

The closing lines of his book:

Come up to me, love,
Out of the river, or I will
Come down to you.



THE PEASANTS' REVOLT: McCARTHY 1968

by *William P. McDonald*
and *J. G. Smoke*

The grass roots story
and prospects for 1972.

\$4.95 cloth

Noe-Bixby Publications
219½ Parrott Street
Mt. Vernon, Ohio 43050

Check enclosed. Send _____
copy(s) of THE PEASANTS'
REVOLT.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Personals

"UNBUTTON," 25c; 5/\$1. Free List! SUB- Box 19, University Station, Seattle, Washington 98105.

NEW STREET ACADEMY on upper West Side of Manhattan needs funds. Purpose is to educate dropouts, so that they may go on to Prep School. Academy for Black and Latin Education, 73 West 105th Street, New York City 10025.

KENNEDY '72 buttons 4/\$1.00, bumperstickers 3/\$1.00. DRUM, Box 609-NR, Fairfield, Connecticut.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will Forms and attorney's informative book, \$1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. No computers used. For FREE analytical questionnaire write giving age. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

INDEPENDENT STUDY PROGRAM, Syracuse University's Bachelor's Degree for ADULTS unable to attend classes. Fully accredited. Write for 1969 brochure. Room #311, 610 East Fayette, Syracuse, New York 13202.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom-made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

CUSTOM-MADE BUTTONS, BUMPER STRIPS, DECALS, BALLOONS, PARKING PERMITS. Union made. Send \$1.00 (refundable) for catalog and samples. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, N. Y. 11551.

HAVE YOU EVER TALKED TO A RUSSIAN? You can this summer because CITIZEN EXCHANGE CORPS believes that now more than ever face-to-face citizen level diplomacy is a step toward survival. C E C's two and three week study-exchange programs in the USSR are open to Americans of all ages and occupations who qualify. Write—Wire: C. E. C., NR 329, 10 West 46th Street, New York City 10036 or 212-LT 1-8113.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHTING MANUAL! Make light-machines, strobes, organs, slides, etc. Send \$2.00—Lightrays, 713K Pine, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

POSTCARDS call for "NO MORE POVERTY, NO MORE VIETNAMS, PEACE AND JUSTICE NOW" — for Nixon and Spiro, Congressmen, friends, etc. Bright orange and yellow. 6/50c, 12/\$1, 30/\$2 (+3% in Mass.). Box 116, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

GENE LIVES — Memorabilia of McCarthy Campaign now available. \$4.97 package includes: 3 flower decals (Rickee-tickee stickees); 3 assorted buttons; 2 bumper stickers; 2 posters ("He Stood Up Alone . . ."; "A Breath of Fresh Air."); "Key Note Speech." \$2.93 package includes: 2 decals; 3 buttons; 1 bumper sticker; 1 poster. Order from Memorabilia & Company, Box 3769-NR, Georgetown Station, Washington, D.C. 20007.

TED/72 Bumper Stickers 4/\$1. P.O. Box 195, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

DIRTY OLD MEN NEED LOVE TOO—over 225 other underground buttons. 1/25c, 5/\$1, 50/\$5, 125/\$10 and 1,000/\$75. Bumperstickers, beads and peace jewelry, too. Free catalogue to all! Free sample to stores. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 MISSION, SAN FRANCISCO 94103.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Include exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only \$2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

"ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" PLAQUE 8 1/8" x 4" \$1.50. Deluxe Edition, \$2.50, grandiose, \$5.00. Bumperstrip, 2/\$1.00. Wry Idea Company, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

PRINT THAT! Academic paperback printer Linotypes, lithographs 6x9 booklets. 500 @ \$6.75/page. Prospectus 25c (r.f.o.) Unicorn Farm, Gilbertsville, N. Y. 13776.

WATCHBAND CALENDAR — 12 monthly metal wafers, starting current month; fold around watchband. \$1.50. IDEA HOUSE, Rye, N. Y. 10580.

SEARCHING? . . . It's not enough to just "know thyself." COM/PAIR, the "People-Matching-People" of Princeton speed your search. It's a way to meet a truly interesting match. National, international clients. \$10 fee payable when you return questionnaire. Request free questionnaire from Com/Pair Systems NR29, 194 Nassau, Princeton, N. J. 08540.

UNDERGROUND RUMORS — for 10 incredible rumors send \$1.00 to Fantasy, Box 1579, Evanston, Illinois 60201.

GENUINE BUCKSKIN JACKETS, gloves, moccasins. Send 50c for genuine buckskin money poke and big catalogue. Berman Buckskin Company, Dept. 67, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401.

BUTTONS "Flower Power" 25c; 5/\$1. Free list! SUB—Box 19, University Station, Seattle, Washington 98105.

CASHMERE SWEATERS, turtles \$23.45, v-necks \$22.05, send \$1.00 for sample swatches, Sherwood International, Inc., P.O. Box 2339, Providence, Rhode Island 02906.

DON'T HIDE YOUR ART PICTURES out of sight. Hang them up and enjoy. With adjustable Fast Frames your home becomes a living gallery. Takes minutes . . . from small pictures to poster size. Lucite, black or stainless, only \$2.00 each for years of framing. Ask your art or frame shop or write Braquette, Inc., Lenox, Massachusetts 01240.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1 1/4' x 2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot. \$3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

HELP Amnesty International free LARISSA DANIEL (USSR), TRUONG DINH DZU (So. Vietnam), WOLE SOYINKA (Nigeria) and Prisoners of Conscience everywhere. Send \$10 for regular membership, or inquiries, to AIUSA, Dept. NR, Suite 1213, Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D. C. 20036.

Literature

DID NEGROES FIGHT IN TROJAN WAR? Was Nero a good emperor? Did Vikings settle in America? Was Stonehenge built by Minoans? If these questions intrigue you, read ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY NEWSLETTER, illustrated, packed with little-known facts about the Pagan World, new finds and deductions, travel tips. Now in its 4th year. Send \$5.00 for 2-year subscription to OTTO F. REISS, Publisher, 243 East 39th Street, New York, N. Y. 10016.

300 RARE STEAM LOCOMOTIVE pictures, history, maps, classification diagrams, Chicago and Northwestern Railway, Steam Power, 1848-1956, 208, 8 1/2" x 11" page hard-bound, 11" x 48" fold-out of large dual Freight and Passenger Steam Locomotive. \$10.00 postpaid. Knudsen Publications, 3539 North Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60613. Send for FREE brochure.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. \$6.00 for one year (a Saving of \$4.00) or \$4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to The New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.

MISSISSIPPI FREELANCE: A new statewide monthly newspaper reporting the otherwise unreported. Twelve issues, \$4. Box 836, Greenville, Mississippi 38701.

BACK DATE MAGAZINES! Send needs. Midtown, Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

CHINA IN MAPS: An atlas of 24 colored maps, historical and geographical, 11 x 8 1/2". Postpaid \$1.50. Remit with order Denoyer-Geppert Company, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60640.

JAPANESE BOOKS, RECORDINGS. Free Brochures. Osaka, Box 808, Montpelier, Vermont 05602.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32N Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

MY NAME IS RICHARD. I write BOOKS — publish them myself and sell them for \$1. Want one? Send your \$1 to: Richard Liebow, 948 Market, San Francisco 94101.

CAPITOL EAST GAZETTE keeps non-establishment eye on DC local politics and arts. \$4/year. 109 8th NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Employment Opportunities

TEACHERS WANTED. Innovative, socially aware, grades K-8, also specialties. New York Suburb 45 minutes from NYC. Salary range for 1969 is \$6,900 to \$14,000+. Contact Mr. N. Karamessinis, Asst. Supt. for Instr., Box 241, Rockaway, New Jersey 201-361-2900.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants You! Good jobs. Adventure. Forms and Australian Handbook (1969) describing Australian assisted passage, passport-visa, advantages, opportunities \$1.00. Buckeye, Box 1032-JK, Fairborn, Ohio 45524.

TEACHING OPPORTUNITIES—Teachers, all subjects and levels; administrators; department heads, housemothers, nurses, etc.; private schools, all states, beginners, experienced; initial details without obligation; confidential. School Service Bureau, Box 2780, Windsor, Connecticut.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. Unlimited opportunities. Latest Government Information and Forms. \$1.00. Austco, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach California 90803.

Employment Wanted

YOUNG PROF., B.A., B.D., Ph.D. cand., wants to work for radical social change. Teaching, campus organizing, draft counseling, ACLU experience. Prefer organization interested social analysis and theory/practice of reaching white middle class. Available July 1, Box 4115 New Republic.

Vacations/Travel

AMERICA By Car! Sensational New Book, Names Best Places to Eat and Stay. Scenic Routes, Parks, Historic Sights! #HP-20T Only \$2.50. Order direct from Harvest House, 19 Overlook Drive, Hilton, New York 14468.

NYC COUPLE, 3 children, exchange 5 room (near C.C.N.Y., Columbia, Yeshiva, Presby. Med. Ctr.) for beach home, summer. Box 4120, New Republic.

SASHAY AROUND BARBADOS like you rented the place. Instead of a hotel or guest house, rent an apartment. You do whatever your vacationing heart desires, a maid does the cooking, cleaning and shopping. It's cozier, kickier, lots more private. What's more for two or more, its bound to be less expensive. For particulars, sashay a note to Barbados Vacation Apartments Company, Gateways, St. Lawrence, Barbados, West Indies.

EUROPE BY STUDENT SHIP. Attend shipboard language classes, art lectures, international forums, travelogues. Enjoy deck sports, movies, jazz and folk festivals. Low fares; round-trip reductions. 9 transatlantic sailings June-September. Council on International Educational Exchange. 777 United Nations Plaza, Dept. NR-2, New York, New York 10017.

'I TOOK THE ROAD less traveled by. And that has made the difference." . . . explore Anthropology in Chiapas, Guatemala, Yucatan; Art in San Miguel . . . explore living Theatre in London . . . cruise North Sea to Leningrad with **YOUTH TRAVELS TO MEXICO AND EUROPE.** Dr. Alex R. Lazies, 47 Stephenmarc Lane, New Hyde Park, New York 11040. (516) GE 7-7514.

MAYA, ZAPOTEC civilizations. Summer in non-tourist Mexico with anthropologist. Students 14-18. 5th Year. Box 604, Bridgeton, Missouri 63042.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS and Graduates. Exceptional travel plans in Western Europe — Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—Israel—Russia. Get off the beaten track and become involved in European life. Speak French in France or Spanish in Spain all summer. Or stay in a Soviet youth center; sail with Breton fishermen; climb glacier-covered Alps; ski in August at Mont Blanc; make bicycle trip in Denmark; hike with Czech students; work in Israeli kibbutz; live with European family. Music festivals, theatres. 18th year. Write: George N. Shumlin, Putney Student Travel, Putney, Vermont 05346.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. \$1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

GOING TO FRANCE? Stay days or weeks with French family on Loire . . . visit chateaux . . . optional French lessons. Contact: K. L. Swift, 2002 Woodberry Street, Hyattsville, Maryland 20782.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—\$1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21 JCC, Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

Property—Sale/Rent

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? For a refreshing experience in modern suburban living, the Shaker Communities offer: A nationally recognized school system; superior municipal services; year-round recreation programs; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; fine shopping centers; mature, integrated neighborhoods. Contact The Shaker Communities, 16800 Chagrin Boulevard, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120, 216-751-2155.

HOUSE, SUMMER SUBLET. Philadelphia's Main Line. Two bedrooms, study, yard, furnished. \$200/month. Box 4125, New Republic.

MOVING TO CINCINNATI? In integrated Kennedy Heights people of varied backgrounds enjoy suburban atmosphere within the city. We value our schools, wooded parks, transportation convenience, and friendly neighbors. Our Community Council helps bring renewed vigor to the ideals of democratic living. Interested? Write KHCC, Box 36023, Cincinnati, Ohio 45236.

HERMAN H. SOHN, builder of Crystal Court Manor, a Condominium complex of 15 two story buildings, in beautiful Hollywood, sunny Florida, is now planning a new complex of one and two bedroom apartment buildings for a retirement and vacationing clientele in the field of education, art and science. For more information please mail names and addresses of all friends who might be interested. Herman H. Sohn, 1354 No. 12th Court, Hollywood, Florida 33020.

80 ACRES, Eminence, Mo. \$9500. Terms. Phone 212-434-0781.

Arts and Crafts

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Illustrated catalogue, 50c. George Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau, Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from \$15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fibre handbags—leather-trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Ecuador.

IMPORTED ENGLISH BRASS RUBBING . . . all sizes, information T. Michael, 233 McCarther Street, College Hill, Easton, Pennsylvania.

Music

SONGS ABOUT SPACE for children; piano accompaniments. Send \$3.00: BOOK, Box 198, Baychester Station, Bronx, New York 10469.

FOLK, JAZZ, BLUES. We specialize in hard-to-get LPs. Send us your wants. MONON RECORD SERVICE, Box 18221 BB, San Francisco, California 94118.

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

FREE 40 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music. Some records priced as low as \$1.00! All late recordings in stereo only. MHS RECORDS, Box 932 NR, New York, New York 10023.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 45c
Per word 6 times in one contract year 40c
Per word 12 times in one contract year...37c
Per word 24 times in one contract year...33c
Per word 48 times in one contract year...30c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC

1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed By The McCall Printing Co.
Mid-Atlantic Division

a service for our readers—

THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOKSTALL

specially selected books at very special prices

319. WORKING AND THINKING ON THE WATERFRONT by Eric Hoffer. This record of one decisive year in the life of an articulate and provocative personality provides stimulating insights into the creative process. Always the individualist, Hoffer responds to his time with perception, wit and candor.
Reg. price \$4.95 Your price \$3.95

320. PORTNOY'S COMPLAINT by Philip Roth. The first novel to smash records before publication. Just out, and it will continue to break more records. A reading 'must' in our age.
Reg. price \$6.95 Your price \$5.55

321. THE PARABLES OF PEANUTS by Robert L. Short. With inimitable style and relevance, Charlie Brown, Snoopy, Lucy, Linus and Schroeder dramatize new Christian parables to fit our times. Paperback.
Reg. price \$1.95 Your price \$1.55

322. THEFT OF A NATION by Donald R. Cressy. An eloquent indictment of the real danger of organized crime which reaches into Congress, the judiciary, the police agencies and labor unions and almost every type of business known.
Reg. price \$6.95 Your price \$5.55

323. THE HUSBAND by Sol Stein. This novel contains the very real and dramatic story of a man struggling to find the truth in his life. The author is the publisher of THE ARRANGEMENT.
Reg. price \$5.95 Your price \$4.75

324. THE AGE OF DISCONTINUITY by Peter Drucker. How different is the society we now live in from the oncoming society which we clearly perceive but scarcely accept. The author focuses with clarity and perception on the forces of discontinuity that are creating our future.
Reg. price \$7.95 Your price \$6.35

325. THE 900 DAYS: The Siege of Leningrad by Harrison Salisbury. The longest siege a great city has undergone since biblical times. Of the 3,000,000 people who endured it, half died, in six months. Mr. Salisbury tells this narrative for the first time, and his range and power are commensurate with the subject.
Reg. price \$10.00 Your price \$7.95

326. AFTERWORDS: Novelists on Their Novels edited by Thomas McCormack. Fourteen authors write about their fiction, and explore the creative act in highly personal terms. Auchincloss, Capote, Fowles, Mailer, Renault . . . to name a few.
Reg. price \$5.95 Your price \$4.75

MINIMUM ORDER \$5.00

THE BOOKSTALL

P. O. Box 7796

Benjamin Franklin Station

TNR032969

Washington, D. C. 20044

Please send the books whose numbers I have circled below.

10	15	49	53	92	148	149	151	153
154	160	309	310	314	316	317	318	319
320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328
329								

I enclose \$..... plus 25c postage and handling.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

49. HOW TO WRAP FIVE EGGS. Japanese Design in Traditional Packaging by Hideyuko Oka. This book is a totally unexpected monument to a culture, a way of life, a universal sensibility carried through all objects down to the smallest, most inconsequential and ephemeral things. A book of exceptional beauty with 222 black and white and color plates.
Reg. price \$15 your price \$12

314. EYEWITNESSES: The Negro In American History by William L. Katz. From the first Negro who sailed to America with Christopher Columbus to today's champions of true equality and civil rights their stories unfold as an integral part of the history of America. This is a long overdue history of the vital part the Negro has played in American history.
Reg. price \$9.75 Your price \$7.80

* You can buy any or *
* all of the books in this *
* select group at substantial *
* savings. Minimum order *
* \$5.00. Add 25c per order *
* for postage and handling. *

149. THE WAR PRAYER by Mark Twain. Written in 1904, Mark Twain left instructions that this be published only after his death. "I have told the whole truth in that," he said, "and only dead men can tell the whole truth in this world." Published separately for the first time.
Reg. price \$5.95 your price \$4.75

10. THE NEW YORK TIMES COOKBOOK, edited by Craig Claiborne. An excellent standard cookbook consisting of 1,500 recipes tested in The New York Times kitchen. It emphasizes international dishes but includes enough typical American ones. A superior production. Illustrated.
Reg. price \$9.95 your price \$7.95

154. BETWEEN PARENT AND CHILD by Dr. Halm G. Ginott. This book accomplishes an ambitious purpose: to make life between parent and child less irritating and more rewarding.
Reg. price \$4.95 your price \$3.95

316. THE JOYS OF YIDDISH by Leo Rosten. "A miracle of a book. The best book about the American language since Mencken. Never did we more need the joys of Rosten."—Daniel Boorstin.
Reg. price \$10.00 Your price \$7.95

151. FLOATING ISLAND by Emily Kimbrough. Adventures and misadventures on a barge trip through the canals of France. Only Miss Kimbrough can tell it with that joy of living and sense of nonsense.
Reg. price \$5.95 Your price \$4.75

318. THE GLORIOUS BURDEN: The American Presidency by Stefan Lorant. A concise political history of the United States in terms of our Presidents and Presidential elections. One superb volume of 864 pages including 1,500 illustrations.
Reg. price \$25.00 Your price \$19.95

310. HOW TO KEEP YOUR CHILD FIT FROM BIRTH TO SIX by Bonnie Prudden. This book contains more than 300 photographs with step-by-step programs for ensuring a child's fitness from birth to six years. Parent and child will find muscle building exercises and play activities they both will benefit from and enjoy.
Reg. price \$5.95 Your price \$4.75

53. THE CONSUMERS UNION REPORT ON LIFE INSURANCE. A Guide to Planning and Buying the Protection You Need by the editors of Consumer Reports. The chances are that you are spending a substantial amount of money on life insurance and receiving inadequate protection for your family. Much of the nation's 17 billion dollar outlay for insurance is spent unwisely. This book provides a rational approach to the buying of life insurance. Paperback.
Reg. price \$1.95 your price \$1.55

317. THIRTEEN DAYS: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis by Robert F. Kennedy. "Should be basic reading for all citizens everywhere . . . will certainly be read, and one prays reread and reread."—N.Y. Times.
Reg. price \$5.50 Your price \$4.40

92. THE SENSE OF WONDER by Rachel Carson with photographs by Charles Pratt and others. "An eloquent plea for parents to rekindle their own feeling for nature and help children use all their senses as avenues of delight and discovery," says the N. Y. Times. Now in paperback.
Reg. price \$2.50 your price \$1.99

153. THE FIRST CIRCLE by Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. A panoramic novel of consummate literary power by a writer who is regarded by most Russians as their greatest literary talent today. Its basic theme is the response of individuals to a dehumanizing totalitarian system, the way in which some discover truth, reality—and themselves—within that system, while others are victimized.
Reg. price \$10 your price \$7.95

148. NEW YORK TIMES GUIDE TO PERSONAL FINANCE by Sai Nuccio. A fine family reference book which accurately presents the major issues of personal finance confronted by nearly everyone. Paperback.
Reg. price \$1.95 your price \$1.55

160. ARIEL. Poetry by Sylvia Plath. "A unique book—with all the pain translated into beauty, nothing less."—Robert Penn Warren. Paperback.
Reg. price \$2.45 your price \$1.95

327. COUNTERPLOT by Edward Jay Epstein. The author of INQUEST, after two years of research, believes that the means by which District Attorney Garrison conducted his investigation of the JFK assassination are suspect.
Reg. price \$4.95 Your price \$3.95

328. MAXIMUM FEASIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING: Community Action in the War on Poverty by Daniel P. Moynihan. The new Nixon appointee states clearly the role of social science in the formulation of social policy.
Reg. price \$5.95 Your price \$4.75

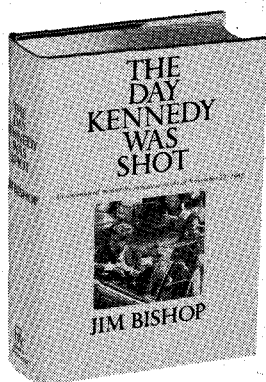
329. THE TRAGEDY OF LYNDON JOHNSON by Eric F. Goldman. An independent and objective examination of the triumphs and failures of the Johnson administration revealing the strengths and flaws of this almost larger-than-life President.
Reg. price \$8.95 Your price \$7.15

309. SCHOOLS WITHOUT FAILURE by William Glasser, M.D. The author of the famous Reality Therapy believes that education today is failure-oriented to a large degree. He proposes a new program based on increased involvement and thinking rather than on memory drill. His approaches in the classroom covering punishment, responsibility, homework and grading are applicable from kindergarten to graduate school.
Reg. price \$4.95 Your price \$3.95

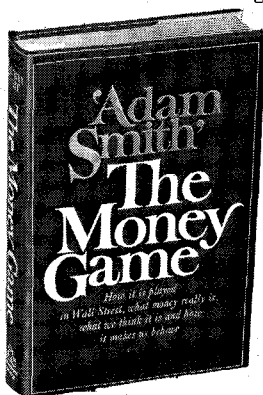
15. THE PREVALENCE OF NONSENSE by Ashley Montague and Edward Darling. This is scholarship rolling a hoop, revealing the cheerful or sometimes ghastly truths by which we live. Here are the errors which mankind accepts as gospel. A droll book by an outstanding anthropologist and a witty satirist.
Reg. price \$5.95 your price \$4.75

Any FOUR of these 23 books will make you more interesting. Just \$1. Interested?

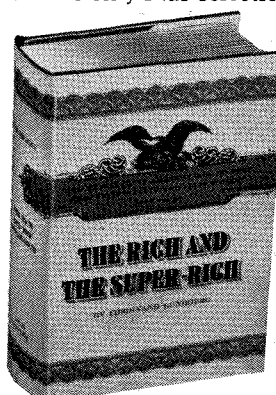
Join the MAINSTREAM BOOK CLUB now and agree to take only four selections in the next two years.



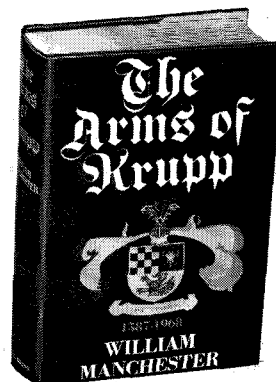
23. THE DAY KENNEDY WAS SHOT Jim Bishop
Publisher's edition \$7.95



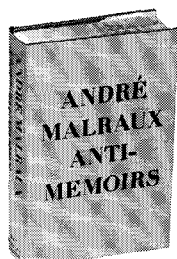
345. THE MONEY GAME "Adam Smith"
Publisher's edition \$6.95



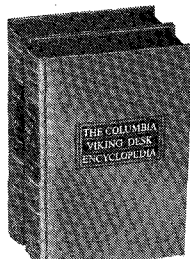
297. THE RICH & THE SUPER-RICH Ferdinand
Lundberg Pub. ed. \$12.50



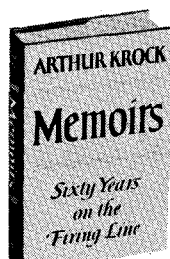
26. THE ARMS OF KRUPP William Manchester
Publisher's edition \$12.50



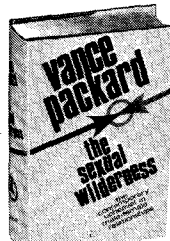
323. ANTI-MEMOIRS André Malraux
Pub. ed. \$8.95



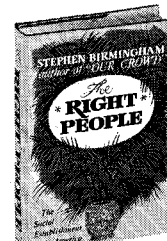
17. THE COLUMBIA-VIKING DESK ENCYCLOPEDIA (2 Vols.) Pub. ed. \$9.95



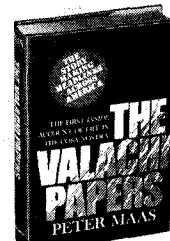
228. MEMOIRS Arthur Krock
Pub. ed. \$10.00



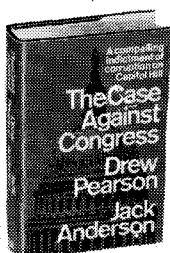
284. THE SEXUAL WILDERNESS Vance Packard
Pub. ed. \$6.95



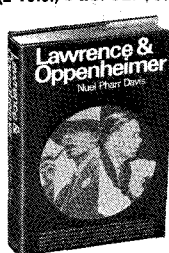
152. THE RIGHT PEOPLE Stephen Birmingham
Pub. ed. \$10.00



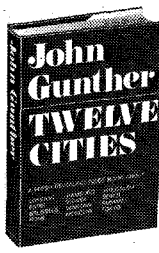
291. THE VALACHI PAPERS Peter Maas
Pub. ed. \$6.95



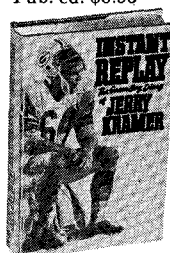
88. THE CASE AGAINST CONGRESS Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson
Pub. ed. \$5.95



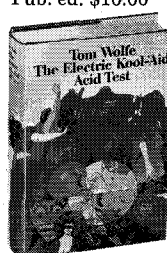
353. LAWRENCE & OPPENHEIMER Noel Pharr Davis.
Pub. ed. \$7.50



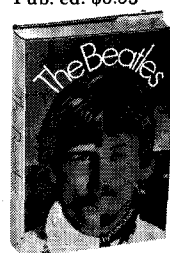
376. TWELVE CITIES John Gunther
Pub. ed. \$6.95



326. INSTANT REPLAY Jerry Kramer
Pub. ed. \$5.95



161. THE ELECTRIC KOOL-AID ACID TEST Tom Wolfe
Pub. ed. \$5.95



292. THE BEATLES Hunter Davies
Pub. ed. \$6.95

CHOOSE ANY FOUR FOR ONLY \$1

MAINSTREAM BOOK CLUB

Dept. 93-MSB, Garden City, N.Y. 11530

Please enter my membership and send me the four books whose numbers I have printed in the boxes below:

Bill me only \$1 plus shipping and handling for all four books. However, if not delighted with them, I may return them in 10 days and my membership will be canceled.

If I decide to continue, I agree to purchase on my Club charge account as few as four more selections or alternates during the next two years at the members' special price, guaranteed to average 40% less than the publishers' editions (a modest charge is added for shipping and handling). Each month you will send me the free Club bulletin describing the forthcoming selection and other vital, provocative books, together with a convenient form for requesting an alternate or no book at all if I do not wish to receive the selection. Every fourth purchase of a selection or alternate will entitle me to choose a free bonus book.

Mr. _____
Mrs. _____
Miss _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

If under 18, parent must sign here _____
OFFER GOOD IN CONTINENTAL U.S.A. ONLY 3MS25

122. THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE John Kenneth Galbraith
Pub. ed. \$6.95

136. THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY Jacques Barzun
Pub. ed. \$7.95

243. EDUCATION & ECSTASY George B. Leonard
Pub. ed. \$5.95

129. WASHINGTON Douglas Southall Freeman
Pub. ed. \$14.95

2. HAMMOND'S CONTEMPORARY WORLD ATLAS
Pub. ed. \$9.95

77. COUNTERPLOT Edward Jay Epstein
Pub. ed. \$4.95

314. THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT 1960 & 1964 Theodore H. White.
Combined price in Pub. ed. \$13.90

INTERESTING PEOPLE ARE MORE INFORMED. They know what's going on, lead discussions and back opinion with fact. They don't just rely on newspapers and TV for their information. Interesting people read books—particularly non-fiction. And the most interesting people select their non-fiction from the carefully screened offerings of the MAINSTREAM BOOK CLUB. Almost always current or recent bestsellers.

Join the interesting people!

Select 4 bestsellers from this typical selection. Write their numbers in the boxes on the coupon. Complete the coupon and mail to MAINSTREAM. You have two whole years to choose only 4 more books from our many selections and alternates. Books on which you save an average of 40% off the publisher's edition price.

What we do for interesting people

We send your initial selection of 4 bestsellers, and bill you \$1 (plus shipping and handling). Every month we mail you our free bulletin in which MAINSTREAM editors fully describe their new selections before publication, together with a convenient form for requesting an alternate or no book at all. We send you the books you choose on publication, billing you at a huge discount. Every fourth purchase entitles you to select a free bonus book.

The time to join the interesting people is now. Send no money. Just fill in the coupon and mail to MAINSTREAM BOOK CLUB, Garden City, New York 11530.

RITTER LIBRARY
RA' DWIN WALLACE